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AUTHOR Lad, Kaetlyn
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ABSTRACT

A qualitative study was conducted to explore how women urban high school principals experienced their entry into administration and their subsequent professional lives. Based on a review of the literature over the past three decades, this study also explored the influence, if any, gender and marital status have had on the lives of two women urban high school principals. Given the lack of representation of female high school principals, it is important that the experiences of women be investigated to portray leadership roles for women more accurately. Data were collected through interviews, observations, shadowing, journals, and informal conversations and discussions with informants. The intention is to lead to a more grounded administrative theory including the experiences of women as well as men. Results indicate that gender and marital status are significant issues in the entrance to professional life and in the subsequent lives of women administrators. Analyses in the study indicate that substantial changes are necessary in the societal roles expected of women before women will be able to make gains in significant numbers into the high school principalship. Five appendixes contain a consent form, the interview guide, an experience matrix, and time- and case-ordered experience matrices. (Contains 3 figures and 101 references.) (SLD)

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ED 427 098

ON BEING A WOMAN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

By
Kaetlyn Lad

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Urban Education

Administrative Leadership

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

August 1996

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ON BEING A WOMAN URBAN HIGH
SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

By
Kaetlyn Lad
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1996
Under the Supervision of Gail T. Schneider, Ph.D.

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Gail T. Schneider 8/5/96

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

It has become clear through educational research and literature during the past decades that a low percentage of women have secured educational administrative positions in our public school systems (Glass, 1992; Jones & Montenegro, 1990; Moore, 1981; Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974; Shakeshaft, 1989). Studies continue to show that no significant change has occurred in the predominant pattern of women teaching and men managing (Bell & Chase, 1993; Blount, 1993; Edson, 1988; Estler, 1975; Glass, 1992; Shakeshaft,1989). The under-representation of women is strikingly evident in the superintendency (Glass, 1992; Marshall, 1984; Tallerico, Poole, & Burnsyn, 1994). Only 6.7 percent of superintendents are women (Glass, 1992). In addition, recent statistics indicate that 32.02 percent of elementary principals, 3.4 percent of secondary principals and 3.19 percent of K-12 principals are females (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1993-1994). The total representation of females in K-12 public education principalships is 38.61 percent with only 3.4 percent at the secondary level. Female teachers, however, number 51.69 percent at the elementary level and 21.5 percent at the secondary level for a total female

representation in the teaching force of 73.19 percent (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1993-1994).

The legal foundation for ending sex discrimination was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act was amended to include the field of education when Title VII was revised by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 (Stoddard, 1981). This act prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex as well as race, color, religion, and national origin. The other important federal law affecting sex discrimination in educational employment is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974), though its major emphasis is not so much on teachers and administrators as on students. Title IX protects students against discrimination based on gender.

The case law for sexual equity took a turn during Warren Burger's tenure as Supreme Court Chief Justice (Baer, 1991). When Burger took office in 1969, the rule was *Muller v. Oregon* in 1908, which held that a woman is appropriately placed in a class by herself. This principle was further refined by case law establishing sex as a valid basis for classification. It was not until 1971, in *Reed v. Reed*, that the first dent was put into this doctrine by calling a state preference for males "an arbitrary legislative choice" (p. 76). In *Craig v. Boren*, 1976, the court ruled that classification

by sex must serve an important governmental purpose such as ensuring national safety or it is illegal.

According to Baer (1991), the most recent case to rely on the *Craig* test was *Heckler v. Mathews* in 1984. The court decided twenty-six cases between *Craig* (1976) and *Mathews* (1984). Of those cases which proported discrimination based on gender, the claimants won thirteen and lost thirteen. Eight of the winning claimants were men and five were women. One needs to know that it is the benefits won and whose interests ultimately prevailed that are important, not whether men won more often than women. Gender discrimination needs to be eliminated regardless of the sex of those being discriminated against. Not all legal victories for men are defeats for women (Baer, 1991). The new doctrine established by *Craig* did not make sex-based inequalities inherently suspect, but the days of *protective* restrictions on women and family-based law on old sex roles were over.

If the field of educational leadership is to assure that it has a representative number of women administrators, the researchers in the field need to make an effort to discover whether gender-based experiences account for or attribute to why women are under-represented in educational administration. Researchers also need to conduct studies, influence policy development and practice in such a way that the women do aspire to and obtain administrative positions despite the odds.

Research is beginning to address gender issues for women administrators as is indicated by articles being published in professional journals. These journals include studies regarding statistics, hiring, leadership styles, advancement and retention of administrators (Epp, Sachney, & Kustaski, 1994; Grant & Martin, 1990; Johnson & Heck, 1994; Johnsrud, 1991; Lee, Smith, & Cioci, 1993; MacKinnon, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1989, Tallerico, Poole, & Burnsyn, 1994). What has not been addressed is the experiences of female administrators based upon their marital status. The lives of single and married women vary greatly. Few, if any studies have been completed to date which discuss gender in terms of the single or married status of the female administrator.

Historically, the treatment of single women and married women has differed in American culture. Women were given few acceptable alternatives to married life: career teaching and prostitution (Shakeshaft, 1989). Married women were often given few alternatives to having children and raising a family. More recently, married women have been seen as capable of working part-time job or full-time jobs when their children reach school age. The economic status of married women has generally been viewed as that of a second income. Until very recently, the social status of a woman was dependent upon the man she married rather than upon personal achievement (Wolf, 1993). Research on female administrators indicates that

the divided role of professional and homemaker is one of the biggest barriers to the career development of women (Edson, 1988).

Traditionally, single women were expected to live at home with their parents until marriage or with siblings or relatives if they were not married when their parents died. Today, single women are able to work and live on their own, but are still seen as unable to "get" a husband if they are single in their 30's and 40's. The gains made by women during the 1970s were distorted in the 1980s by publications which stated that single women had suffered emotionally by trading husband and family for careers (Faludi, 1991). Although single female administrators do not experience the same problems as married female administrators, they still suffer the same stereotypes: they are viewed as potential wives and mothers whose primary role will be the caretaker of children (Edson, 1988). The cultural stereotype difficulties for the single female administrator are multiplied if she has children. Single women or women who are single-parents are often seen as possible threats to married women around them.

Statement of the Problem

More women are needed in educational administration to appropriately represent the clientele served and the population comprising our teaching force. The perception exists that it is more difficult for a woman

than a man to obtain an administrative position as the positions have traditionally been viewed as *male* positions. It may also be more difficult for women to obtain administrative positions because of who is doing the hiring and how the hiring is done (Marshall, 1984; Schneider, 1988).

The professional literature from the 1970s shows that women were not securing administrative positions in education to nearly the degree that men were securing these positions (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974). The 1980s literature brought to light the fact that women experience the world in ways which are different from the way men experience the world (Gilligan, 1982; Edson, 1988). In the 1990s, the field began to ask women to put voices to their experiences (Cornell, 1991; Epp, Sachney, & Kustaski, 1994; Dillard, 1995). If the field of administrative leadership is to begin to deal with the problems of securing women in high school principalships, we need to know how high school principals experience their entry into the principalship and how they experience their professional lives once they have become a high school principals. This study will look at the urban setting as the program in which I am enrolled is an urban one.

Purpose of the Study

This study explored whether gender has had an impact on the lives of two female urban high school principals. The study also explored

whether the marital status of the female administrators affects their career experiences. The study sought to determine the ways in which gender and marital status influence urban women high school principals' experiences as administrators. This study was intended to contribute to the theoretical knowledge base regarding women in educational administration and advance our understanding of experiences of urban high school principalships held by women.

Significance of the Study

Research has established that women are severely under-represented in administrative positions in our public school systems in rural, suburban and urban school districts (Estler, 1975; Oritz & Marshall, 1988; Schmuck, 1980; Shakeshaft, 1989). Although studies have indicated that women may be different from men in their psychological makeup and in the way they behave in and experience the world (Gilligan, 1982), the expectations held for administrators in our educational system have been determined based primarily on the analyses of male administrative behavior (Shakeshaft, 1989).

The gender of women administrators inevitably affects the experiences of female administrators. The impact of these experiences may extend to the personal lives of the women as well as their professional lives.

The interpretation of the experiences of women urban high school principals may possibly differ from their male counterparts depending upon whether the female administrator is married or single. Thus, whether these experiences have implications for their professional lives and what these implication are may vary according to the female administrator's marital status. Little research has been conducted in this area. It is important that this be taken into account when school districts move to create policies and environments which are receptive to and supportive of females. It is significant that the field of administrative leadership be aware of gender experiences and how these affect the lives of married and single women in different ways if the field is to take steps to make the urban principalship more appealing to women.

It is also significant that the field of administrative leadership contribute to the theoretical knowledge base concerning woman in leadership positions in education. By expanding the knowledge base that has just begun to be established for women in the field, the quality of experiences for women who obtain administrative positions in education may be improved. The theory on which our practice is based will be a more legitimate theory if it considers the female experience as well as the male experience. Practices based on theory which includes the experiences of women will be more likely

to adhere to existent policies enacted to ensure non-discrimination based upon gender.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The research conducted over the past decade has begun to establish that there is a female perspective or approach to dealing with the demands of life (Gilligan, 1982; Edson, 1988, Shakeshaft, 1989) and that this female perspective has been overlooked in the research creating the framework around which our administrative theories and university programs exist (Gilligan, 1982; Marshall, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1989). Emerging work by such researchers as Gilligan, Shakeshaft and Marshall has established that women behave in ways that do not necessarily parallel the behaviors of men and admonishes that these *gender* differences need to be taken into account when formulating theories of administration and leadership behavior. The research pertaining to women has established that different perspectives and approaches do exist for women (Gilligan, 1982: Edson, 1988: Shakeshaft, 1989). It is now time to move toward establishing a knowledge base of those experiences and perspectives upon which to build theory sensitive to and representative of women in administrative leadership positions.

Administrative theory, as it exists today, is based in research that primarily excluded the female experience. Most of administrative

behavior and the resulting theoretical frameworks did not consider women as a group different from men (Edson, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989). Most research on which current administrative theory is based was formulated through research that was completed using only male subjects. The resulting theories were later applied to the women in educational administration as women began to enter the administrative ranks. The concept that current administrative theory is based in research almost exclusive of the female experience, is referred to as *androcentric bias* in traditional administrative theory (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Research completed in the 1980s determined that gender differences in behavior and perspective exist (Gilligan, 1982; Shakeshaft & Hanson, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989). To further our understanding of these differences and to expand our research base and theory base, multiple perspectives of women's experiences need to be captured. Traditional research has ignored the female experience and the influence of gender on the structures of organizational, leadership and political theory until the decade of the 1980s. Analyses of earlier studies indicate that they are based on a white male perspective and world view (Shakeshaft & Hanson, 1986). For example, some of the theories cited most often in educational administration and management texts -- social systems models, two-factor leadership behavior models, organizational climate research, situation leadership

research and motivational research -- are based on research studies focusing on white male administrators (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984).

Feminist critique of traditional administrative theory is sometimes referred to as *feminist theory*. Considering the years of research and theory development in administrative theory, feminist theory is in the early stages of development. According to Marshall and Anderson (1995), one strand of feminist theory emphasizes the barriers to access and choice by females. This is referred to as *liberal feminism*. A second strand which emphasizes and values women's perspective is called *difference feminism*. The last strand is *power and politics feminism* which identifies institutional purposes, economic purposes and the political and cultural processes which create and maintain the exclusion of women (Marshall & Anderson, 1995). It is within the parameters of *power and politics feminism* as depicted by Marshall and Anderson (1995) that this study was conducted.

It is the intention of the researcher to add to the knowledge base of feminist theory by attempting to build theory through this study. Current research in administrative theory has not addressed marital status as it relates to experiences of female administrators. It is possible that the marital status of female administrators does influence their experiences.

Subjectivity of the Researcher

The intent of qualitative research is to use the researcher as the instrument through which the data are collected and interpreted (Peshkin, 1988). I approached this study by acknowledging how my subjectivity would impact on the collection, interpretation and presentation of the data. Rather than allowing my subjectivity to be unconscious, I identified my subjectivity so that if that subjectivity emerges in the course of the research, it could be taken into account and disclosed to the reader (Peshkin, 1988).

Feminist inquiry takes into account how our lives are mediated by inequities (Lather, 1992) such as classism, racism and sexism. Lather (1992) feels that to conduct feminist research is to put gender as a social construct at the center of the research. It is in within the subjectivity of this researcher that the social construct of gender will emerge as a tool for data collection and interpretation.

Ethical Issues

In conducting a study where the researcher's subjectivity may be called into question, I was aware that the use of *subjectivity* in the data collection and data analysis phases of the study does not give me license to *lead* the subject to relate experiences which fulfill the anticipated research expectations. The awareness of researcher subjectivity is an attempt to

comes to terms with the epistemological issues of any research. The use of subjectivity is not meant to steer the informant toward making statements which suit the purposes of the researcher. The use of the researcher subjectivity is an attempt to give to the reader, in this study, a *third voice* which is clearly that of the researcher.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited by the low number of women in the high school principalship. This study is also limited by the availability of women who are willing to share their experiences. Sharing experiences from both the past and the present which are related to gender might affect the future career of a female administrator and may, therefore, make her reluctant to participate in the study. Often, the career impact is not positive and the attitude of superiors and colleagues may be influenced negatively. Few women may be willing to take the risk.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature which is relevant to the topic of women in administrative leadership positions. The chapter is divided into three sections each dealing with the literature from a ten year period.

Relevant Literature During the 1970s

Two facts emerge clearly from the available figures on women in educational administration in the 1970s. First, men dominated all administrative positions -- as superintendents (99.9%), principals (86.5%), and assistant principals (87.5%) -- almost to the exclusion of women in some instances. Second, the percentage of women in educational administration in the 1970s was on the decline (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974). The decline ranged from less than 10% at every other administrative level down to 1% at the superintendent's level.

Teaching at this time was considered a *female* occupation (Estler, 1975). This was not always the situation. With the shortage of men at the time of the Civil War, women were recruited into teaching. As the years passed, women began to dominate the field, and with this shift came the labeling of teaching as a low-status profession (Neidig, 1980). In 1972-

73, 83.4 % of the elementary teachers and 46.4% of the secondary teachers were women (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974). Statistics compiled for the 1970s revealed that, nationally, women accounted for only 1.4% of all secondary principals, 1% of the superintendents, and 3% of the assistant superintendents (Moore, 1981).

"Women are underrepresented in public school administration not because they are unable to administer. What screens out women and prevents them from moving from teaching to public school administration is a process of differentiation based on sex" (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974, p.14) The low number of women in educational administration resulted in a lack of role models and was one of the causes of a proportionally smaller number of women than men aspiring to administrative positions (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974).

Attitudinal barriers, those of both women and men, and discriminatory hiring practices are reasonable explanations of why and how women were not advancing in educational administration in ways similar to men (Moore, 1981). A myth which has contributed to the underrepresentation of women administrators is the perception that women do not need administrative positions. At least one out of every two women in America in the 1970s was the sole wage earner for her family (Moore, 1981); thereby, dispelling the notion that women do not need the additional income

which and administrative position may provide. Another myth as noted by Athena Theodore as cited in Niedermayer & Kramer (1974, p. 34) states that the choice of teaching may not be a serious career commitment for many woman but rather, it may be the path of least resistance (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974) and since most administrators come out of the teaching profession, there may not be a great number of women in the teaching field with administrative aspirations. Another attitudinal problem may be sex-role stereotyping which refers to the widely held beliefs concerning *appropriate* male and female behavior, not the *ability* to display the behavior. Individuals who engage in sex-role stereotyping expect and presume that men are in inherently better qualified than women to hold administrative positions.

In the 1980s, Shakeshaft and Hanson (1986) reviewed ten volumes of the *Educational Administrative Quarterly* (*EAQ)* published during the early 1970s for evidence of *androcentric bias* which literally translated from the Greek, means *man-centered partiality*. Androcentric bias tends to reinforce the acceptance of male leadership and makes it difficult for females to enter and gain acceptance into the field. Androcentric bias is present in a patriarchal society. Bias was found in all phases of the research including problem selection and formulation, review of previous research, selection of samples, data collection procedures and interpretation of results (Shakeshaft & Hanson, 1986).

There were a variety of responses by government, professional organizations, special interest groups and schools of education to the low number of women in educational administration in the 1970s. These responses took the form of laws, task forces, research, conferences, professional meetings, professional publications, and recruitment programs which would ultimately encourage women to pursue administrative positions and begin to change the attitudes of the people who make the hiring decisions (Niedermayer & Kramer, 1974).

The studies which took place during the 1970s regarding marital status and administrators were limited to general demographic reports of percentages of male and female administrators who were married in particular studies (Center for Educational Statistics, 1970; Snits & Gelder, 1978). One study found that marital status did not effect the way in which administrators responded to questionnaires (Jones, & Montenegro, 1982). No studies were found which looked at the experiences of women administrators based upon marital status.

Review of Relevant Literature During the 1980s

In 1982,Carol Gilligan wrote *In a Difference Voice* which expanded the understanding of human development by using data on women's experiences in the construction of theory to call attention to had

been missing in prior theories. Gilligan generated new theory of behavior which encompassed the experiences of both sexes. The evidence suggests that women perceive social reality differently from men and that these differences center around experiences of attachment and separation, and life's transitions.

A study completed by Marshall (1984) asserted that research has been completed which provides evidence that superintendents, school boards and teachers prefer male administrators, that the *old boys' network* promotes men since predominately white male administrators and university professors spread the word to aspiring men about upcoming job openings, and that hiring practices unfairly discriminate against women (Marshall, 1984). Such research has been a catalyst for laws, regulations and policies, such as affirmative action which has been intended to improve opportunities for women.

Research has shown that women are different from men in their orientations to the administrative role and in their skills (Funk, 1980). Women tend to be more collaborative in their approach to leadership and tend to spend more time in the role of supervisor of curriculum than do men. Edson (1988) pointed out that leadership may look different in the years to come. "Although many [women] admit they want success, school improvement--not personal gain--motivates their aspirations" (Edson, 1988,

p.283). This is not to say that all women have the same leadership styles. Some women portray a more traditionally masculine style of leadership (Shakeshaft, 1989). Things have definitely changed from the days when "Freud thought of shyness, modesty, and need for instruction and assistance as typically and exclusively female mental qualities, impossible for men to possess. Women, on the other hand, could assume male characteristics--and this possibility of 'character inversion' was one thing that distinguished women from men" (Young-Bruehl, 1990 p.13).

A study completed by Coggins (1984) looked at whether school board members were inclined to favor male archetypes as superintendents in the selection process. The results demonstrated significant differences in the criteria used for male and female candidates by school board members in selecting superintendents. The results of interview analyses showed that comments were made by candidates related to family, children and parenting concerns without specific reference to gender. One interviewee stated that the district would have problems employing a female superintendent at the present time due to limited perceptions by community members. There were no differences in the selection process of candidates based on gender. The differences came to surface in subtle ways during the interview process such as asking about children and marital status. Schneider (1988) asserts that

"attitudinal studies have revealed the existence of a pervasive bias favoring males over females," (p.2).

It is significant that the number of women in higher ranking administrative positions continued to be low in the 1980s despite affirmative action, legislation, and special programs (Marshall, 1984). The number of doctorates in educational administration and supervision earned by women increased from an average of 8% over the years 1920-1952 to 28% in 1979 (Marshall, 1984). Even though a large pool of qualified, certified women existed, they did not move into administrative positions in any significant numbers. Women who did obtain administrative positions during the 1980s gained national attention given their prior absence and underrepresentation (Schmuck & Schubert, 1986).

One may expect that women administrators would be equity advocates because of their experiences with institutional inequity. However, in a study completed by Schmuck and Schubert (1986), there was no incident of sex or race inequity reported by women in response to questions about general educational policies or practices for which female principals were responsible. The majority of women principals in the sample reported no discrimination in educational policy based on gender; yet, these same women commented on "differential treatment" because of their sex. The study

indicated little attitudinal support or action to foster equity practices in schools.

Women who obtained administrative positions learned how to write resumes, how to deal with sexist questions in job interviews, how to cope with sexist attitudes on the job, and how to successfully cope with being the *lone* woman in an administrative meeting (Schmuck & Schubert, 1986). "Women administrators are not trained to be sensitive observers to inequity in school organization" (Schmuck & Schubert, 1986, p. 15). The women interviewed clearly wanted to integrate themselves into the prevailing culture. They did not want to be viewed as women but as administrators. Schmuck and Schubert (1986) noted women's the personalistic view of their experiences and their lack of a larger understanding of the concept of gender often led to their insensitivity and inattention to equity in school ideology and practice (p. 21).

Verification of disparity due to gender poses the threat of discrimination lawsuits. Litigation carries significant costs for institutions and employees -- both economic and psychological (Pounder, 1988). Research on gender bias and recognition of a *glass ceiling* in women's advancement help us to understand why changes have been slow (Regents Policy Paper: NY, 1990).

It is likely that some female administrators realize some people will not like them simply because they are women (Marshall, 1985). Marshall noted that women administrators are often seen as abnormal women and abnormal administrators. Therefore, perhaps they do not worry about how people perceive them but, rather, believe strongly that they must exude self-confidence (Wheeler & Tack, 1989). Based on the results of this study, the differences in women's style of leadership became apparent in that women value committee meetings to a greater extent, try harder, smile more and are less likely to believe in merit pay than their male counterparts. Their understanding of career socialization and advancement in administration has been based almost exclusively on the experiences of men (Lynch, 1990; Marshall, 1987). Women's experience has traditionally been explained by comparing it against theories derived from male experience (Gilligan, 1982). Women tend to enter administration later in their lives than men and with less frequency (Marshall, 1984; Funk, 1986). Women also tend to have more years of teaching experience than do men (Funk, 1986). Many women want others to participate more fully in decision making then men (Marshall, 1984). The combination of their prior experiences may yield self perceptions of role expectations that differ markedly from male administrators.

Shakeshaft (1989) summarized the differences between women and men in administration, indicating that more women than men designate education as their first career choice, experience more career interruptions, and tend to be politically more liberal. Men are likely to move into educational administration more quickly, are more often married, are more likely to have sponsors, and attain higher salaries than women. Women's career paths seldom lead to principalships and superintendencies (Marshall, 1987).

Embarking upon a serious administrative career path requires women to engage in a transitional socialization process (Marshall, 1987). Marshall found that successful women administrators subvert or go around the usual socialization process and find alternative methods unique to each individual to pass through the transitional socialization process necessary when going from teaching to administration (Lynch, 1990). Yet during this transition period (Funk, 1986), women reported difficulties in the areas of gaining male respect, entering the male network, being taken seriously as authority figures, needing to be better, not being trusted by other women, having difficulty with male board members, maintenance men, male parents, sensing unequal opportunity and being seen as a threat to male administrators.

Women experience female career role conflicts often regarding children and authority which men do not experience. The resolution of the problem, according to Lynch (1990), is to change the culture of school administration to remove the barriers that limit opportunities for women to undergo a broader range of socialization experiences. Both literature and women's experience document the barriers that impede women's progress and the kinds of societal restructuring and class action that must be undertaken if true change is to come about (Lynch, 1990).

Research regarding marital status during the 1980s, was statistical in nature. In 1985, 77% of all males receiving a doctorate in education were married while 57 % of the females receiving doctorates were married (Center for Education Statistics, 1987). Approximately 93 % of all male principals and superintendents were married (Shakeshaft, 1989) while 61% of all female administrators were married (Shakeshaft, 1989; Durnovo, 1988).

Studies in the 1980s dealt with marital status only in terms of demographic data regarding how many administrators were married and how many were single. Durnovo (1988) completed a study on emerging characteristics of women administrators in Texas Community Colleges and found that 61% were married and 37% were single. In a study completed by the Center for Education Statistics (1987), it was found that the proportion of

women who received educational doctorates when married increased while the proportion decreased among men. Still, the proportion of males who were married and receiving doctorates was significantly higher (77%) than for females (57%). No studies were found during the 1980s which looked at gender discrimination and marital status for either males or females.

Review of Relevant Literature During the 1990s

Susan Faludi's well-researched book, *Backlash* (1991), examined how gains made by women in the 1960s and 1970s were undermined during the 1980s. The press began the backlash by changing the portrayal of the liberated women of the 1970s to the burned-out women of the 1980s. Reaganomics, the recession and the expansion of a minimum wage service economy also helped to undermine women's gains in the job market. "All women's aspirations -- whether for education, work, or any form of self-determination ultimately rests on their ability to decide whether or when to have children" (Faludi, 1991 p. 414). Faludi stated that the 1980s backlash produced a long, painful and unrelenting campaign to thwart women's progress in all fields.

The studies of the 1990s targeted specifics of how, why and where sex discrimination against female administrators happens. The term *discrimination* tends to arouse defensiveness in some men while many

women fail to recognize it (Cohen, 1991). Sex discrimination in principal hiring and promotion practices was studied by Grant and Martin (1990). Many of the female subjects of this study cited sex discrimination and preferential hiring and promotion as significantly affecting their career advancement. The data gathered from phone interviews corroborated their reports. Women gained significantly less from their promotions than did men (Johnsrud, 1991) both in being chosen less often because of less administrative experience and in monetary compensation.

Educational administrative positions have been found to be gender-free positions in which women function as effectively as men (Greyvenstein & Van der Westhuizen, 1991); yet, women tend to receive much greater scrutiny during the hiring process (Hyle, 1991) than men do and many more principal positions are held by men. Women tend to have more education than men and more years of teaching experience when they enter administration. It is noted that women enter administration at an older age than men and rely on an interactive style of leadership while men rely more on the power of their positions (Schmidt, 1992). Organizational structures are changing from the *"Great Person Theory"* in support of shared leadership with the concept of teaming and working together as important in accomplishing goals (Murray & Simmons, 1994). Women possess skills which will be in great demand as organizations change.

In one study mandated by the governor of the state of Wisconsin, 93% of surveyed respondents answered *yes* when asked if there is still a *glass ceiling* for women in advancement to higher positions within the institution (Report of the Governor's Task Force on the Glass Ceiling Initiative, 1993). There are some real barriers women must face if they wish to break through the *glass ceiling.* Among these are the informal structure or the *old boys' network,* informal power networks, the use of authority, evaluation criteria and the giving of rewards. One strategy for permeating the *glass ceiling*, that of networking, was considered in a study by Johnson (1991). Yet networking should not be considered a panacea for women but should be used as a tool for building a constructive future.

We are seeing the influence of feminist perspectives on structuring within the organization (Young, 1992). Implications for feminine leadership in administration links the collaborative leadership style of many women to the effectiveness of site-based management (Murray & Simmons, 1994.) There are certain ways of leading that are described as being *feminine.* These ways of leading in which behaviors are collaborative, nurturing, communicative and child-centered (Murray, 1995). It is possible for men as well as women to favor an inclusive, collaborative, nurturing, and child-centered mode of leadership that requires all parties to participate and share in decision making. In time, this feminist influence may filter through

the structural barriers inherent in the organization. Implications for feminine leadership in administration links the collaborative leadership style of women to the effectiveness of site-based management (Murray & Simmons, 1994.) It is possible for men as well as women to favor an inclusive mode of leadership that requires all parties to participate and share in decision making. However, in a world wide perspective, men as a caste continue to seek ways to undermine feminism by gnawing away at its victories and confining women to lower employment levels by putting a *glass ceiling* over professional women (French, 1992).

Brunner and Duncan (1995) brought forth an important issue which is the culturally created perception of how women ought to behave and speak. Brunner and Duncan explored the differences in women who define power in a masculine way--as domination, authority--and women who define power in a feminine way--as collaboration, caring. The results of the study indicated that women who practice appropriate, feminine modes of power are more "liked" by those around them than those who practice masculine modes of power and are considered as successful as women who portray masculine ways of asserting power (Brunner & Duncan, 1995).

Some progress is being made by women, as a group, to further their leadership qualities and enhance the advantages of positive gender characteristics filtering into the structure of the educational organization.

(Lee, Smith & Cioci, 1993). Laws are a key factor in establishing mechanisms which work for equity. Laws can influence attitudes and behaviors and deter undesirable behaviors. Laws, however, can be easily subverted or drafted in ways which create numerous exceptions (Stromquist, 1995). An additional means of making changes toward equity is through the presence of feminist teachers and administrators in the field of education. In one study (Lee, et al., 1993), male teachers assessed the effectiveness of female principals as relatively ineffective while female teachers assessed the effectiveness of the same principals as above average. One should underscore the consistency of the findings of how strongly and positively female teachers respond to female leadership (Lee et al., 1993). Meanwhile, women are making slight gains into educational institutional administrative positions (Montenegro, 1994).

In order to advance the number of female administrators, it is important that women begin to show support for other women. This has not always been the case (Schmuck & Schubert, 1986). Progress for women is being made in administrator training programs at the university level. Coursework (Burnier, 1992) is beginning to acquaint students with a range of issues relating to women in the workplace. A study by Lyman, Eskildsen, Frank, Nunn, O'Day, and O'Donnell (1993) proposed to explore whether female administrators needed to make conscious adaptations as a result of

gender. The study found that female administrators interviewed perceived that women had to do more and work harder than men in comparable positions to establish credibility and professional competence.

A study similar to the Shakeshaft and Hanson (1986) review of 1970s *Educational Administration Quarterly* articles, was a study conducted by Epp, Sachney, & Kustaski (1994) in which 180 articles published by EAQ in the 1980s for androcentric bias were reviewed. The findings were outlined according to the six areas used in the original Shakeshaft and Hanson (1986) study. Nearly 29% of the articles published in the 1980s were written by women as compared with 7% written by women in the 1970s. Nearly as many articles from the second decade as from the first were unclear about the gender group targeted in the population formation. All articles in which gender was included as a theoretical variable had female authors. Reviews of previous research generally excluded females in both decades. Gender of the samples in the studies was reported much more often than it had been in the 1970s. The 1986 findings reported that many of the instruments used in the studies were transferred directly from other fields or were developed using only male administrators. Interpretation of results showed moderate decreases in the use of such research instruments and in androcentric bias in studies printed during the 1980s.

The purpose of a study by Mertz and McNeely (1990) was to examine how females who had managed to attain positions as high school principals and superintendents had accomplished that task. In listening to the *voices* of these women as they reported the way they had perceived themselves and the situations they faced, two different patterns emerged from the data about how they had attained their positions. The first pattern might aptly be called *work hard, be loyal and you will be rewarded.* Most of the subjects who fit this pattern said they had not set out to be administrators. They reported having gotten their certification to further their education rather than to obtain an administrative position. After becoming certified they waited for a position to come to them, i.e. to be asked to apply before applying. When these women were passed over for a less qualified man, they tended to accept the situation. They did not complain or show their disappointment.

The second pattern was termed by Mertz and McNeely as *work hard, work smart and make it happen.* These women tended to be more assertive in their behavior than those in the first pattern, were far less accepting of defeat and had more confidence in themselves and their abilities than they did in good fortune or reward for hard work. A number of these females identified people who had helped them but only one subject identified a mentor and that mentor was a female assistant principal. When

this group felt they might never get a position, they threatened or took legal action but paid a price for their actions. None now hold the position for which they took the legal action. They have been moved to less desirable positions or removed from the position. These women who took legal action perceive themselves as being at a dead end (Mertz & McNeely, 1990).

Those who did not perceive themselves as having to take the *last step* by taking legal action were seen much differently than those who did take the *last step*. Those who did not take that step were perceived as playing by the rules, staying within the system or using established methods whether covert or overt to get an administrative positions. They were seen as having earned a position the way you *should* go about it, without breaking the rules (Mertz & McNeely, 1990).

No woman had a voice in the origin of the legal institutions that rule the social order under which women live. The interest of women as a sex was not represented (MacKinnon, 1991) during the writing of the Constitution. An important means utilized by women to improve their condition has been legislation. "How many of us realize that the main activists against women's rights in the past century have been women?" (Cohen, 1991). Yet feminists anticipated that, through pressures upon legislators, laws would be passed to decrease gender discrimination in employment (Stromquist, 1989). Feminists and a small group of male

politicians who supported their demands worked to enact legislation on gender equity. Sex discrimination in hiring and promotion is prohibited by both federal law and executive order (Committee on Status of Women, 1981). There have been a variety of modes of response by government, professional organizations and schools of education. Some universities are beginning to make courses more gender inclusive so that women's issues and scholarship are taught across the curriculum (Burnier, 1992).

Both literature and women's experience document the barriers that impede women's progress and the kinds of societal restructuring and class action that must be taken if true change is to come about (Lynch, 1990). It is important to move educational research on women in administrative positions to a stage which focuses on descriptions and reflections of their own experiences (Tallerico, Poole, & Burnsyn, 1994; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1994). Women carry with them a disadvantage that results in lower status and affects their subsequent status over time (Johnson & Heck, 1994). "The critique of and reformulation of women's administrative culture should be from a woman's voice" (Marshall, 1987, p. 23).

It is also becoming clear that women who do secure administrative positions do not always remain in these positions or in the field of administrative leadership itself. Little research as to the reasons why

women leave administrative positions has been completed. It is only in very recent research that statistics regarding gender of administrators has been kept in any consistent manner (Jones & Montenegro, 1990). Tallerico, Poole, & Burnsyn (1994) found a heterogeneity of perspectives on why women do leave the superintendency. These perspectives included issues of politics, dysfunctional relationships with school board members, race and gender with the authors adding that there is no universal experience for women exiting the superintendency.

A recent study by Tallerico and Burnsyn (1995) found systemic gender stratification as a significant structural barrier for women in the superintendency. Women tended to be relegated to positions in small, rural districts. Brunner (1995) found that women do actively seek the superintendency but there is little in the literature which offers guidance to women in a positive way. Brunner's study found women superintendents did not hide their femininity; they focused their lives in order to accommodate their work; they chose their battles carefully; they were risk-takers; they retreated when necessary; they were very organized; and they practiced using power through collaboration, inclusion, and consensus building (Brunner, 1995).

If the field of educational administration is to assure that it has a representative number of women in its ranks, researchers in the field need

to make an effort to discover whether discrimination based on gender, is a reason why women leave educational administration. Researchers also need to develop and guide practice which will insure women who do obtain administrative positions, despite the odds, remain in these positions of representative leadership.

The culture in which we are socialized makes a difference in our lives (Dillard, 1994). Our interest grows out of our own personal circumstances and out of a sense of what we are working to bring into being. Dillard found that identities such as background, culture, religion and gender develop particular experientialized views of leadership. The traditional "scientific" conceptualization of the principal will not hold up as we move into the next century (Dillard, 1994 p. 557).

A study completed in the 1990s looked at the marital status of women in non-traditional fields (Gosman, 1993). This study found that married women were viewed as being more stable than single women and married women represented the majority of women in these non-traditional fields. Reagan (1991) completed a study regarding the impact of the home life upon women professors who were given administrative responsibilities. This study found that those married women who felt the least conflict between their home life and career were those who were married to people in academia or those whose children were gone or both. Another further

explored the support systems of married administrators as opposed to single administrators (Myers & Ginsberg, 1994). The researchers found that married administrators received the greatest amount of career support from their spouses while single administrators were supported by friends. No studies were completed which dealt with marital status and gender discrimination of female administrators.

This review of literature verifies that gender discrimination affecting female administrators does exist. Socialized stereotyping of traditional gender roles and the associated attitudes of both males and females (Cohen, 1991) are evidently the major factors underlying the variables which function at individual, organizational and societal levels and negatively affect the position of women in educational administration (Greyvenstein & Van der Westhuizen, 1991). Johnsrud's (1991) finding that gender is a powerful determinant of outcomes in promotion underscores the need for continued vigilance in institutional efforts to ensure equity for women. Studies in educational administration have not looked at gender discrimination of women administrators and how that discrimination might be influenced by marital status.

Conclusions Drawn From the Literature Review

The existing literature has shown that data are available to substantiate that gender-based bias in educational administration exists. During the 1970s, research indicated that men dominated in all administrative positions and that the number of female administrators was on the decline. What seemed to screen women out of administrative positions was not lack of education or experience in the field but differentiation based on gender. Studies which looked at marital status documented only the numbers of women administrators who were married and the number who were single.

The research of the 1980s began to show the emergence of research describing the differences between female and male behavior (Gilligan, 1982). Studies began to focus on equity in the hiring process and practice. Literature was reviewed to determine bias in the current administrative literature. Work was done regarding the socialization process women experienced during their initiation into administrative positions, and that experience was shown to be different than that of men. Marital status was viewed only in terms of the percent of women administrators who were married and percent of women administrators who were single.

The 1990s brought on the years of examination of the stagnation of the progress women made in the 1980s along with the beginnings of

research on the experiences of women in administrative positions. Data began to accumulate indicating that there is a *glass ceiling*, a level within the institutional bureaucracy beyond which women could not cross, for women across the nation. The marital status of women administrators began to be more closely scrutinized in terms of how women administrators experienced support systems.

It became clear during the 1990s that it is necessary to move educational research of women to an advanced level. Future research should focus primarily on descriptions of women's own experiences, reflections on those experiences, and the changes that are taking place in school administration because of those women's experiences and reflections in order to more fully understand the complexity of the relationships and effects of gender. No one has addressed the influence of marital status as it impacts on the equity of women administrators. One cannot address the impact of bias until an awareness of that bias is created.

Chapter 3

STUDY DESIGN

The study being presented in this paper is a qualitative, exploratory study. The study looked at the stages of pre-selection, selection, advancement and job experience of two female, urban, high school principals. The study is exploratory in nature so that I might discover the answers to the research questions being asked in this study which were: How do women urban high school principals experience their entry into their positions as administrators? How do these women experience their subsequent professional lives? Does the gender of women urban high school principals influence their experiences as administrators? Does the marital status of the women in the study influence their experiences as administrators? These questions provided a justifiable rationale for conducting an exploratory case study wherein one of the goals was to develop pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry (Yin, 1989).

It is intended that the conclusions drawn within this study will contribute to administrative theory by including the experiences of women. This approach to theory building is termed *grounded* theory. Grounded theory is one that is arrived at inductively from the study of phenomena. The theory is discovered, developed and verified through the systematic collection

and analysis of data pertaining to the phenomenon under study. In grounded theory, one begins with an area of study and through collection and analysis of data a theory grounded in the data emerges (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Definitions of Terms

It is necessary to define the terms *sex* and *gender* as they are being used in this study. Sex is a biological description. Gender is a cultural term which describes the characteristics we ascribe to people because of their sex. The term *gender* includes the way we believe people behave because of their sex or the characteristics we have attributed to them based upon our cultural expectations (Shakeshaft, 1989).

The legal definition of discrimination in constitutional law is "the effect of a particular statute or established practice which confers particular privileges on a class arbitrarily selected from a large number of person, all of whom stand in the same relation to the privileges granted and between whom and those not favored no reasonable distinction can be found. Unfair treatment or denial of normal privileges to persons because of their sex, race, age, nationality or religion. A failure to treat all persons equally where no reasonable distinction can be found between those favored and those not favored. Federal statutes prohibit discrimination in employment on basis of sex, age, race, nationality or religion," (Black, 1979). The dictionary

defines *to discriminate* as "to make a clear distinction; differentiate or to act on the basis of prejudice" (American Heritage Dictionary, 1987, p. 203). As previously noted, the term *gender* includes the way we believe people behave because of their sex or the characteristics we have attributed to them based upon our cultural expectations (Shakeshaft, 1989). Theodore (1971) defined discrimination against women as professionals as "when women of equivalent qualification, experience and performance do not share equally in the decision making process or receive equal rewards, such as salary, promotions, prestige, professional recognition, and honors" (p.27).

It is necessary to define the term *discrimination* as it was used in this study. The term *discrimination* was used to describe the perception of differential treatment based upon sex or gender which is interpreted negatively. I chose to add the words *which is interpreted negatively* to speak to the fact that all *differential treatment* based on sex or gender may not be discrimination. For example, providing more women's restrooms than men's restrooms at a public place is differential treatment based upon sex but the treatment is not interpreted as being prejudicial or discriminatory.

It is also necessary to talk about the *perception of negative treatment.* There are actions or behaviors which some people may interpret as normal while others might perceive these actions or behaviors as *gender or sex discrimination.* These different perceptions may indicate a difference in

socialization, as some people are socialized to view discriminatory treatment based on gender or sex as *normal*. The different perceptions may also be because of levels of awareness. Some people because of education or experience or both may be more aware of gender or sex discrimination than others. This is not to say, however, that discrimination based on sex or gender is not discrimination because it is not perceived. It is an awareness issue.

Sample Selection

The sample was a purposive sample. This means that women administrators were chosen based upon meeting certain criteria. Criteria included: 1) the informants were to be women who were currently working as urban high school principals in the state in which the study took place; 2) the informants needed to be willing to discuss their experiences in becoming an educator, moving into administration and working as an administrator.

Names of women who were urban high school principals were obtained from the state licensing agency for the state in which the study took place. The district in which the women were employed agreed to their participation in the study. Women urban high school principals were contacted as to their interest in cooperating with the study by telephone. The participants were assured confidentiality by the author (Appendix A). Two

female principals agreed to participate and were chosen for the study. One principal was married and one was single.

Data Collection

Data were collected over a four month period. Three principles were adhered to during the data collection phase of this study: (a) using multiple sources of evidence; (b) creating a case study data base; and (c) maintaining a chain of evidence. These principles were very important in maintaining the quality of the case study. These principles also helped to deal with the problems of case study validity and reliability (Yin, 1989).

The first source of evidence used in this case study was the interview. Interviews were open-ended and exploratory in nature. The interviews were non-standardized and free-flowing and guided by cues from the interviewee (Patton, 1980). The initial interviews were used in part to negotiate an understanding of the research and to begin to develop a sense of trust and rapport (Appendix B). Background regarding educational and professional experience was also collected during the initial interviews which were two hours in length. The interviews were tape-recorded and field notes recorded immediately following the interviews.

The second method of gathering information was in the form of observations/shadowing of each of the principals. During the sequence of interviews, a schedule was agreed upon that facilitated the opportunity for the researcher to observe the principals in situations which were a part of their experiences as high school principals. The experiences included, but were not limited to, observing/shadowing the principals during daily tasks and meetings with staff, other administrators, and central office personnel. Sixteen observations/shadowings were completed in half-day intervals. Comprehensive notes were taken during and/or after these experiences. Behaviors and interactions observed by the interviewer were discussed with the principal for clarification and also to give the principal an opportunity to expand upon observed data.

The third method of data collection was journaling by the researcher. Through the course of the investigation, principals were asked to keep a journal of perceptions and ideas that might have presented themselves as they reflected upon the interviews and observations which had taken place. Unfortunately, due to the issue of time, both informants chose not to prepare journals.

The fourth source of gathering data was informal conversations/discussions. These took place spontaneously or as a result of

observations/shadowing and journaling. Summaries were made of all conversations and discussions.

A subsequent interview, which was two hours in length, was conducted with the principals which improved the sense of trust between the researcher and the principals while gathering additional information. The focus of these interviews was determined, in part, by the data gathered during the preceding interviews, observations, shadowing, journaling, discussions and conversations and was guided by the research questions. All interviews were tape-recorded and comprehensive field notes were completed immediately following the interview itself.

My subjectivity was drawn upon during data collection phase of the study (Peshkin. 1988). As stated, the interviews were free-flowing and guided by cues from the interviewee (Patton, 1980). This also added to validity of the study by accounting for the my subjectivity.

All the informants cooperating with the study were given an opportunity to review the written transcripts of their interviews. Any comments made as a result of that review were included as a part of the data collected during the study. A follow-up interview was conducted with both informants after they have had an opportunity to review transcripts of their interviews in order to document reactions and allow for further clarification when desired. The informants also had the option of receiving a copy of the

final report of this study if they chose to do so. Both did. This was determined by the informant at the onset of the study (Appendix A).

All interviews were transcribed and coded according to the procedures and techniques suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Field notes, observation/shadowing, and discussion/conversation summaries were transcribed and coded (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). When an observation or impression suggested itself, it was place in brackets in the transcript which inspired it. This gave the investigator access to both the verbatim text and a record of her observations and impressions exactly as situated in the text.

It was my intent to establish a chain of evidence that would lead an outside observer to the conclusions drawn. Such a principle of investigation increases the reliability of the case study and the use of multiple cases increased validity. One should was able to move from one case to another with clear cross-referencing of methodological procedures and to the resulting evidence (Yin, 1989). The use of multiple sources of evidence creates a basis for triangulation which increased the validity of the study.

Data Analysis

The research questions which guided the gathering of data for this study were: How do women urban high school principals experience their entry into their positions as administrators? How do these principals

experience their subsequent professional lives? Does the gender of women urban high school women influence their experiences as administrators? Does the marital status of the women in the study influence their experiences as administrators?

A qualitative multi-case study approach to data reduction and organization was used (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Yin, 1989). This included the use of pattern coding, memoing, developing propositions and a data accounting summary. Within case analysis included an experience matrix (Appendix C) and a time-ordered matrix (Appendix D) in the form of a chronology. Cross-case data analysis included a case-ordered experience matrix (Appendix E).

Pattern codes were inferential codes that suggested an emergent theme or pattern to the investigator as data were being reviewed. The coding took place during the data collection phase and continued through the data analysis phase of the study. Memoing assisted in managing the pattern coding by theorizing about the codes and their relationships as they struck the investigator while coding. The memos tied the different pieces of information together into categories or subcategories or may showed data as an example of a general concept.

The purpose of a qualitative inductive multi-case study is to build abstractions across the cases (Merriam, 1991). Glaser and Strauss

(1967) suggest that the use of multiple cases allows for differences and similarities to emerge which enable the researcher to generate categories which were consistent across the cases. I took the information accumulated during the pattern coding and memoing processes and developed propositions. As the study proceeded, there was a need to formalize my thinking into a more coherent set of statements. Generating connected sets of statements and reflections upon those sets of statements was the process of developing propositions.

The processes of pattern coding, memoing and proposition building was completed on all the documentation accumulated during data collection phase of the study, which included field notes, interview transcripts and summaries. It was necessary that the elements being uncovered during pattern coding, memoing and writing propositions were interpreted in light of the proposed research questions. The three processes of pattern coding, memoing, and proposition building stimulated an accumulation of information that allowed for (1) the investigation of the questions originally outlined in the study, (2) assessment of how the experiences of the women in the study were defined by the research questions, and (3) the discovery of emergent findings.

My subjectivity was drawn upon during the data analysis phase of the study just as it was during the data collection phase of the study

(Peshkin, 1988). These two study phases over-lapped as analysis began before data collection was completed. I used my subjectivity while analyzing the experiences of the informants.

I had nine years teaching experience and four years experience as a central office administrator in a nearby district. I filed a gender discrimination and retaliation claim with the state's equity agency against the district in which I was employed. I also filed a federal law suit claiming gender discrimination against the district in which I had worked. I was reminded of experiences from my past which paralleled, or were similar to, or were very different from the experiences related by the informants. I used my experience to compare and contrast those of the interviewees. In this way, I added an analytical view to the study while accounting for my subjectivity, thus, adding to the validity of the study. I was also able to give an additional perspective to the reader.

It was at this point in the data analysis phase of the study that I developed the data accounting sheet which displayed research questions and indicated whether the questions were responded to by the informants. I checked off each cell in the accounting sheet for which the data were collected. This effort lessened the possibility that there was any data which had been passed-over. I still had time to collect and analyze needed data.

The time-ordered experience matrix had its columns arranged by time period. The time-ordered experience matrix allowed for a systematic means of comparison of experiences in the order in which the impacts occurred in each case. It was possible to note pattern development across the cases.

In this study, as in most, I was interested in outcomes. These outcomes are more accurately described in the case of this study as *experiences*. An experience matrix displayed one or more experiences which were uncovered and were supported by the evidence presented during the case study. This instrument was completed for each of the two cases in the study. The experience matrix was summarized primarily from the time-ordered matrix completed for each case.

A cross-case analysis instrument was developed and used. This included the case-ordered experience matrix. The case-ordered experience matrix analyzed the experiences across the cases. This was a summarizing tool for all of the data analysis developed. The instrument included the information gathered across all cases from all sources of evidence and was chronologically ordered.

All instrumentation was developed during the course of the data analysis stage and the specifics of the instruments depended upon what was discovered over the course of the study. This study was exploratory in

nature and no attempt was made to predict what the experiences would be for any of the women administrators involved. It was my intent to uncover the experiences that occurred over time, not to establish a predetermined set of experiences and determine if they actually occurred.

Two methods of data review were used during this study: member checks and audit trail. Informants received copies of their tape recorded interview and were free to comment. These comments were used as data. The audit trail is a major trustworthiness technique which can be used during the case study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The audit trail in this study included field notes kept on all interviews with the informants, tape recording of interviews with transcriptions, summaries of observations and shadowing, summaries of conversations and discussions, the coding of the transcriptions and writing of references for the codes and finally the development of detailed matrices which have evolved from the data analysis.

Linking Data Collection and Analysis to the Research Questions

Interviews, observations, shadowing, journaling by the researcher, conversations, discussions, and the recalling of my experiences were the sources of collection of data analyzed. The initial interviews assisted in focusing subsequent interviews in a manner that brought relevant

information into the open and detailed the information for further analysis and comparison. The principals were able to review interview transcripts and were given an opportunity to clarify any information during subsequent interviews with each informant. The coding process assisted in uncovering similarities and differences in relevant information across the cases as well as relevance within each case for comparison with my recalled experiences.

Chapter 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

This chapter will present the data collected during the study. The background section includes data collected during the initial interviews which were approximately two hours each in length. The quotes were transcribed from tapes made during the interviews. The quotes where edited only for grammatical reasons and were reviewed by each of the principals.

I wrote the following reflection after my first interview with Frances:

> I had my first interview with Frances. She had reservations about the time involved in completing the interview component of the study. I am going to get this done. It was disappointing to have the first thing she talked about be her limited time for interviewing after she had already agreed to the interview. I wasn't going to give up. I think she'll have fun if she just forgets about her work long enough to focus on the questions. She speaks well and seems willing to answer anything. We'll see. She was more concerned about the time involved which is understandable. Her's is a difficult job. It is all consuming. She mentioned the time factor as one of her considerations when she had to decide whether to take the job. She said, "You can work at it 18 hours a day and still not get everything done that needs doing." (Journal Entry 1).

The interviewer had questions about whether Frances had a role model for a working woman in her mother. Frances had mentioned her mother was a bookkeeper so the interviewer asked Frances if her mother had worked when she was young. Frances explained:

> She didn't work when I was young, when I was in elementary school. When I went into high school she did start working. Mom enjoyed it which is important too. Mom likes to work. Mom feels good about herself working. She would get dressed up and go to the office. She was a very good role model.

Frances moved when she was five and her brother was born on the southwest side of the city near an airport. She attended a public elementary school. Later, she attended a Catholic girl's high school because her parents were not pleased with the city's high schools since she would have had to take two buses to school each way to attend the public high school.

Frances graduated in the top quarter of her high school class but:

> I certainly wasn't the valedictorian or anything like that. Wasn't president of the class. I wanted to go to Southern because the young man I was dating was going there. Southern was known as the 'party school' and my parents said they were going to pay for my education but they weren't going to pay for me to go Southern with my boyfriend.

Frances said her parents thought she should really think about what she wanted to do so she decided to become a medical technologist.

> I had always liked science and, well, somewhere I had heard that term and I thought 'gee, that's sounds good.' When you don't have a lot of role models in your family and people who have done different things, your exposure to careers is very narrow and when I graduated from high school in the 1960s, most women were going on to college to become teachers and nurses or something in the human services area.

I wondered if there had been a difference in the role her brother had been encouraged to pursue as he was growing up so the researcher asked Frances what her brother, who had been five years younger than she, did for a living.

> My brother is an attorney. I have a large extended family. My father was one of ten so I have a lot of cousins. I am the oldest of all. I didn't have any other role models or cousins who had gone to college. I was the first one to go, and like I said, at that time, it was a matter of focusing on some kind of social service area, and teaching was what women went into.
>
> It is interesting because the next cousin after me went to a private school and he went into psychology. His two sisters followed here and went into, guess what? Med Tech. One is now a Med Tech the other started in Med Tech and later became a nurse. My first car was a Volkswagen

> convertible.....their first cars were Volkswagon convertibles. The next family had six kids and the first one goes into--Guidance and Counseling.

Frances could see the pattern of the younger cousins following the model set by her. Frances, as she mentioned, had no role model in her family who had gone to college.

Frances decided to attend a smaller private college in another state where she felt that the structure of study hours and quiet time would be good for her. In the four years that she was at college, she changed her major from medical technology to education:

> When I went to see my family doctor for a physical, and I told him what I was in college for and he said 'gee, do you really want to sit in a lab all day and boil pee?' and I said I didn't want to do that so I went back to school and started talking to some people and found the college had a great education department. I like kids and I have always liked kids. I liked biology. That was my major, chemistry was my minor -- why don't I go into high school teaching?

Frances later changed her major to secondary education with a major in biology. She graduated in 1964 and was thinking of joining the Peace Corps to see the world when some recruiters came to the college to interview candidates for high school teaching positions:

> I always liked travel and different school districts came to the college to interview because there was a shortage of teachers at that time. Somebody from Newark City came and said, 'Look, we really need good teachers in Newark City. Why don't you consider that instead of going around the world and traveling and putting all your energy in foreign countries. We need talented young people right here.' The starting pay was $5,000 a year so I signed on the dotted line. My parents, they about died. The Peace Corps was one thing, now it was Newark City!

Frances did go to Newark City with a friend and had what she described as an "interesting two years". Frances ended up in an all black school which she had anticipated because the interviewer had said she would go to an inner-city school. It was a school of about three thousand students and 60% of the teachers were black. It was academically an excellent school in an very old, beautiful building. Frances recalled her first days:

> I remember walking in the first day and everything was dark: the building was dark, all the kids were dark skinned. It was like I was never going to figure out one student from another in this setting because everything was the same to me. The teachers and the mentoring program that I got there were absolutely outstanding. I mean teachers took new teachers under their wings. Department chairs were true mentors, I mean they were responsible to see that new teachers made it; very different from what we now have in this urban system.

Frances felt that she had an excellent background in college but was not really prepared to be in a classroom. She taught some honors classes in biology and felt that it was an great experience for her. She left Newark City after two years, not because she didn't enjoy the experience, but because she didn't particularly care for the city. She decided to move on and get a Masters degree in Biology:

> I went to Rockford University where I got a residence hall internship where they would pay my tuition, pay my room and board and I would be a residence hall counselor which was an excellent experience. Rockford and the University of Milton were my two options and Rockford offered all that so I grabbed at it. Plus, I was also able to be a lab assistant in my biology classes and I got paid for doing that, so financially it paid off.

Frances was at Rockford for two years and completed a degree in Biology Education but she also became very interested in counseling because of the experience as a resident hall counselor. She figured that if she could teach in Newark City, a large urban city with a majority minority population, she could teach back home in Mayfield which was also a large urban city with a majority minority population. Mayfield needed people so she sought and obtained a teaching position there:

> They had this huge board and they had all the schools dotted and they said, 'OK, pick what high school you want to go to.' I had a choice of any

> high school I wanted being there with a Master's degree, a couple of years experience and I said I wanted an integrated school. At that time, that was about 1966, that was unheard of in Mayfield. Their school district was very segregated and they chose a high school in the 'back of the yard' off the expressway. It dealt with a black population that lived in those high rises along the expressway, south, around the park. That's where the school was so it had a good number of black students, it had white students, the old Irish Americans who lived in that area, they had Appalachian Whites who had moved into the area because of low cost housing. In another area, it had a group of Hispanics. So it was a real challenge.

Frances taught in Mayfield for six years. She taught biology for one year and was a guidance counselor for five years. She experienced a few race riots. There were a lot of racial problems at the school.

> I just got tired of minority isolation in the city and there were five other teachers who taught at the school and I said, 'Gee, wouldn't it be neat if we could do some kind of experience for these kids that we take them out of the city and out of an urban area for a period of time and do like an outward bound experience. We could have them live on the farm for a week or two and do all kinds of environmental kinds of experiences, human relations experiences.'

So Frances and her friends wrote a proposal to the Federal Government for an outward bound experience for their students and the project was funded. The project was funded in connection with the Mayfield Public Schools. So Frances and her friends ended up buying property in Grismo in the Rainsville Spring Green Area. They got letters of support from parents and felt this was a really good way to work intensely with a group of students. They could take them out there for a week and then bring them back to the city.

> Well, it turned out the Mayfield Public Schools backed out. Initially they had agreed when the Federal Government approved it. We said, 'yes', they are going to do this, but of course, in the process.... Now, anytime the Federal Government gives you dollars and they become another funding source, they are going to come in and say, 'how exactly is that money going to be spent.' Because Mayfield was so segregated at that point, they just didn't want to open--they at that time had very few federal grants, if any, and they just didn't want to do it. They didn't want the Federal Government coming in and telling them they had to go along with their guidelines and their stipulations.

When they read the fine print, Mayfield decided to say 'no.' So, that was the end of that project for Frances and her friends. There they sat with a farm in Grismo which had been formed as a non-profit corporation. So, they

had to decide whether to continue to fight city hall or to continue to develop the farm. At that point they decided the fight was not going to be worth it since the farm was too far away and Mayfield was putting up these road blocks. Some of the members of the group stayed in Mayfield for a while trying to deal with it and eventually they all said "let's forget it and not deal with it."

> I was really between everything, and I had gotten so involved in the farm and trying to give....in Mayfield, to somehow have kids in a setting where they can deal with each other and deal with each other in terms of relationship kinds of skills and to also expose themselves to something else besides the city blocks that they were living on....which led me to recreation and I went to the University of Grismo Master's program in recreation since I really enjoyed recreational things.

Frances realized that recreation might be an avenue for things that could not be done in the classroom. She hoped she could turn students on to knowing about themselves and dealing with their own self concepts. It was very important to Frances that students have a good self concept.

> I was in Grismo for a year. I came to Ralston to see about an internship in recreation because I was ready now to move on and I wanted to see if--the field of recreation was totally new to me and Dr. Olson, who was an Assistant Superintendent called me. I got to meet him and he said, 'You know,

> Frances, you need to work for us.' He said, This is the perfect place for you because of your educational background.'

Frances was told that the Recreation Department was a part of the school district in Ralston. She thought that this would be a great experience. In addition to an excellent environmental education program, there was an outdoor education program. She came to the city thinking that she was going to be involved in community recreation but:

> Dr. Olson called me into his office to tell me about my placement. He said, 'Frances, I know you are going to do a really good job in our Senior Age Program.' I thought, Senior Age Program, what a funny name for an outdoor ed community program. So I asked him what he was talking about and he said that was our program for senior citizens. He said, 'With your enthusiasm and your coming right out of the university--we are really not doing for our senior citizens what we should be doing.' I said I had not had one class in gerontology. I said I love my grandparents but I like kids and that is the clientele I want to work with. He said, 'Well, then, this will be a real challenge for you!' He said, 'I want the person who is the head--all they are doing is playing cards out there--we need to turn that whole program around.' So obviously what can I say, so I say OK. So I went to the Senior Age Program and eventually became the Director.

Frances was there as an intern for about six months and then applied for the job because it was a very challenging position. It provided excellent administrative experience since she was able to build her staff to meet program needs. Frances hired people who were actually activity leaders and developed programs for traveling and also started the Senior Olympics. Frances stayed there for about five years and it was an exciting experience for her.

> I needed to take a break.. I needed to take a leave from doing this. Seniors are a very difficult population to work with. I missed kids. I needed challenges in my life. I needed to do something different. My dad had died, my mom wanted to build a log home. I still owned this farm out in Rainsville with some other people and so I decided to move out of Mayfield totally. I got involved in log homes. Meanwhile I got my real estate broker's license. I went out to Bernice and I got to know the people that built the log homes and they said, 'Why don't you be our salesperson.'

Frances spent the next three years selling log homes in Bernice and Edmunton. Eventually, though, she missed children, schools and the community of school. She realized that in selling homes you put dealers and buyers together but never experienced any follow-up satisfaction. She enjoyed sales and dealing with people but that life style just was not for her.

> I thought, no, I've got to come back into schools. So I called around and called the recreation department where I had worked in Ralston and said, 'You know, I really want to get back into the schools. Do you have any kind of position open right now?' They knew my background and everything so they hired me back and at that time you had to take the test to become an assistant principal and I had all the teaching background and everything. So, I put in, took the test, passed the test and got on their list, so to speak, to become an assistant principal, and was chosen to come here to Elderbrook High School in, I think, 1987. That was the year Mr. Jesse was placed here as principal.

Mr. Jesse had come in from central office to take over the principalship of Elderbrook High School. Once appointed, he continued to be involved in central office, so, although he was at the high school, he really was not "at" the high school much of the time. Mr. Jesse became the Assistant Superintendent two years later and Margaret Green became the principal for the next three years.

> We had an incident take place here which was a racial incident between some of our Hispanic kids and Black kids which just happened to be on a day when that the school had been chosen for the first weapons scan in the district. Elderbrook is a very difficult school because of the racial mix. We have 16% Hispanic, 48% Black, and 4% Asian. There were gang affiliations and you get a lot of different gang problems that come into the building with

> Hispanic gangs and Black gangs. We were trying to work all that out and it was an unfortunate incident. The press happened to be here because they were taking pictures of the scanning, and the scanning lasted for hours and hours and hours. They couldn't handle all the kids--kids down the block and up the street all the way to Jackson Avenue--which was unfortunate because the cameras were here and some kids started fighting. The whole thing got blown out of proportion. The bottom line was they decided to remove Margaret from here as principal. So, yes, they removed her from here.

One of the assistant principals had been serving in the district for years but chose not to move into the district. Since residency was a requirement for principals in this urban district, he was not eligible for appointment to the principalship. The district felt, however, since he had been an assistant principal for so long, that he would make an excellent choice for interim principal. Frances then became the programming assistant principal. At the end of the year, it was time for interviews for a permanent principal at Elderbrook High.

> I felt that this was a very difficult decision for me--to decide did I even want to apply for this position because I had seen that the job, principal of a high school can be an all consuming job. You could spend 18 hours a day doing this job and never get it all done. You are always behind. There are so many things especially if you are trying to be an

> instructional leader. If you are going to manage, just manage, you can do that, but if you are trying to really do innovative kinds of things, it just takes time and that was a real question mark.

In addition to these very personal issues, Frances was not pleased with some of the assistant principals in the high school. She believed that in a high school you have to operate as a team or else you will not accomplish your goals. She needed to have all four assistant principals that she felt could do well working in as cohesive group.

> So I decided I was going to say, yes, I would take this job, but only if they would let me choose two other AP's to come into the building. I said that to the interview committee. I said I really believed that an administrator or the head CEO needs to be able to choose who they want to work with, and I would like to, obviously, be able to choose all the teachers, but that's not possible in this district, so I would at least like to choose the assistant principals.

There was some negotiating back and forth and eventually Frances agreed to accept the position. The district agreed to the two people she wanted as assistant principals and they agreed to remove one of the assistant principals she wanted removed. Frances is now in her second year of the principalship.

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> that the city brings and remembering the contrast between that and going to rural Patsville. Just being shaken because when I arrived there I had no idea that socially things would change for me. I didn't know. I had never before been confronted with having to get down off the sidewalks when whites came by or having to wait at the store or witnessing my grandmother sleeping with her shotgun at the head of her bed because she was constantly being threatened. I recall that kind of thing.
>
> I recall that year, it must have been 1968, the school was very active in marches. I don't recall participating in any planned marches but I do remember a lot of discussion in the cafeteria and after school about the civil rights movement.

Louise further recalls the life of the people she was with in rural Patsville for the two years after her mother died.

> Some people were still share cropping and it was sort of routine for the young people on Saturdays to go and pick cotton and save their money to buy their clothes for the fall. That was very interesting. My mom had been a strict agnostic. She did not believe in any of the tales of God. Leaving that urban setting and going into a rural setting where there were folks picking cotton, there were folks getting down off the sidewalks--quite a contrast and leaving there and then coming to Mayfield to an urban high school and then leaving Mayfield and going back to Richards but not to the city of Richards but the suburb and recalling how

> differently I was treated in that suburban community because I was so and so's daughter in the suburb. I didn't have to get off the sidewalks when whites passed. Just a difference in treatment. Far more positive an experience in the suburban community in Richards. It's just amazing.

After one year in Mayfield, Louise returned to Richards and stayed there for three years in a little suburban community with her aunt. Louise remembers that she had a very active high school.

Louise indicated that she was very active in high school in the suburban community. Her aunt was very strict, so if activities occurred during the day, Louise could participate but not if the activities were held at night.

> I was always on the honor roll. I think I probably would have fainted if I had missed the honor roll. So I got there and of course they have these elections where someone is chosen school queen and the entire school has to vote for that person and I said now, how am I going to win this election. I thought the only way I can win this election is to go down into the middle/junior high area of the school and talk with those students and get those students to vote for me. I remember going down. No one had ever done that. High school students just assumed that we are up here and they are down there. We don't need them. They don't need us. So, I went down and talked to them and I overwhelmingly won that election. It is a big honor there to be elected school queen because you can't

> get it unless the entire student body wants you to have that position.

Louise ran for one thing after another. She was elected to student council. She ran for Junior Miss because she knew she needed the money for college and that was her reason for participating.

> It was the second year that they allowed blacks to participate, there, in that town. I recall my aunt and uncle getting very worried because these white families kept coming to pick me up to take me to rehearsal and all that, and the meetings and rehearsals were all in Germantown and I recall them being so worried that I would not come back--that something would happen and I would not come back. I kept stretching them and pulling them into all these social arenas that were not there before. It caused them to be a little worried and I recall graduating as an honor student.

During her high school years, Louise was very proud to have been in the ROTC. She was a lieutenant corporal in the ROTC. She related some of how she felt about the experience:

> It was great. We had a rifle range where we went to practice during the day. I recall making my uniform over a period of two or three days. It was very tense. You know what an ROTC uniform looks like? But I learned how to sew with my grandmother. She had one of those old sewing

> machines. That was the most beautiful uniform ever. I made it. Wonderful parade!

Then Louise received a scholarship to Kentucky State but that wasn't enough. Louise wanted to go to Columbia University. Louise had been receiving newsletters from that university about a new program they were starting called Operation Push which included an Educational Opportunity Program for minorities.

> So I started writing, trying to get into that program. I started at Kentucky State and stayed there for a semester, not quite, and luckily I was accepted at Columbia as a part-time student. In the part-time program, I had to prove to them that I was serious, I guess. So, I did that. I came to Columbia and was in their part-time program in the evenings, taking only Philosophy courses for three years. I got there, got married, took part-time courses in the evening and worked at the newspaper full time for three years.

Over the six or seven years that Louise was associated with the paper she did a number of jobs. The first one was working as a cancellation/correction girl:

> 'Girl', they called it back then. Actually they had a woman there whose job it was to walk around to make sure that the 'girls' were dressed appropriately, of course. Amazing ! There were no pants. You could not wear slacks unless it was part of a coordinating outfit. If you would show up in just slacks and a top or something, you would be sent home. I stayed in that office for three years,

> full time. The last year though was very interesting. I would always go in an hour early to work--very good work habits. I had taken typing during the senior year of high school and the reason I had taken that was because I knew I would need a job and luckily I had room in my schedule. I had taken overloads my first three years in high school so I had plenty of room my senior year for Office Ed.

Louise related that fact because she felt it was important that so many college bound people tend not to take courses such as typing because these courses do not fit into their schedules. College bound students do not plan early enough so that they are able to fit such courses into their schedules and then when they need a job during college, they have no marketable skills.

> I was promoted to a bookkeeper position at the newspaper with the pre-paid accounts department. Big hoopla around the building. A manager, I won't mention his name because he is still probably there, the nicest little guy, he had gone around and told everyone that he had never had any black folks--he didn't use the words 'black folks'--I hate to mention people's shortcomings, but it is significant here. He had told people on the floor that he had never had any 'black folks' in his department and he wasn't going to start now. A friend of mine and I used to watch him because he was located in the department just in front of us and we would sit and watch what was going on in his department while we were doing our filing. My friend had a way of referring to men in a very nasty

> way. She would say, 'Did you see that slime gut?' So that is how we kept going. She had a way, when I think of it now, of looking at it. I think, boy, we survived all the chauvinistic nonsense that was going on in that company! 'The girls,' it was always 'the girls'. The 'girls' retaliated under their breath by saying these things like 'slime gut'. Luckily we didn't have anyone put 'the make' on us as my friend would have said.
>
> The supervisor would tell people, who would tell me, 'you know,' he would say, 'she won't last two weeks because I will make sure of that.' So he would give me twice the accounts to work on and I would take them home and work on them until eleven or twelve. Plus, I had my school work. Plus he would make remarks like, 'when are your ever going to get out of college, twenty years from now?'

Louise eventually was accepted as a full-time student into the program at Columbia and finished in six years rather than four. She sums the experience up this way:

> I ended up finishing up my Bachelor's Degree in six years instead of four and I was majoring in a foreign language, Spanish. It was a very time consuming project. Plus working at the newspaper plus having a child by marriage plus a divorce--all of that packed into that time.

Louise also studied out of the country for two summers, one in Mexico City and one summer in Guadalajara. She then came back to the States and worked for the Illinois Correctional Services. She quit that job and worked for The Minority Women's Employment Program where she had mostly Spanish speaking clients and helped displaced homemakers find jobs . She went back to Mexico, then came back to the States and worked for Illinois Correctional Services again. Finally, Louise went on to a middle school Spanish teaching position in an urban school system.

> I left there and I said, listen, I am trained to be a teacher, a Spanish teacher and that is what I want to do. I am going to start that career now, enough coming in and two or three patients have overdosed. They said well we'll tell you right now you will probably be back in a couple of months. Wait until you see those bad kids. I said I doubted that. And I haven't yet!

In 1980, Louise obtained a job in an urban middle school where she had planned on being a day-to-day substitute teacher. Once she got there, they decided they wanted her to stay. So, she ended up teaching Spanish there for six and a half years. Louise felt it was a very positive experience. She filled in as assistant principal in the office. As a teacher, Louise had a reputation for never sending students to the office.

> I can truly say that I've never let one child down and that is a motto of mine, that I can't, I don't want anyone to ever come to me in the future and say, 'Ms. Emerson, you could have helped me but you didn't,' or, 'you could have gone the extra mile but you chose not to.' My dedication to the field of education is due, in some respect to my feelings of responsibility to my heritage. I think a feeling of commitment to give back to people in the African American community was something that was ingrained in me as a child. There was a feeling of responsibility to give back to the African American community. So that's how it happened. I got involved in administration that way. I was already working on my Master's in administration while I was teaching. So, after I acquired to degree, I thought (that was in 1984) so I said, 'Well! It's time for me to apply for an assistant principalship.' I had done some things out there that I guess made people interested in me as an administrator. I had spent some time with children who were at risk, children who were reading below a fifth grade level. I was teaching them Spanish in the evenings. I had written a proposal that had been funded to get software to teach children in Spanish. It was one of the first of such grants and probably the largest.

Louise applied for and accepted a position in a suburban district as an assistant principal and stayed at that position for eight years. She then applied for and was given a principalship in the urban school district of Ralston.

As we walked together through the hallways as was her custom during the breaks between classes, Louise commented that she had her

superintendent's license and was glad she had started the Ph. D. program in administrative leadership five years earlier. She said she could never handle the job if her husband did not stay home with their young son (she has an older child who is twenty-four). She said she could not have maintained the assistant principalship she had prior to the principalship if her husband did not stay home.

Results of Interviews, Observations/Shadowing Discussions/Conversations, and Journaling

The following data have been grouped according to how these two women experienced their entrance into the field of administration, how they experienced their subsequent professional lives, how gender influenced their experiences as administrators, and, finally, whether their marital status influenced their experiences as administrators. This sequence of presenting the data follows the order of the research questions as they were stated in the methodology. The data presented were drawn from interviews, observations/ shadowing, discussions/conversations, and journaling by me, all completed over a four month period. Twelve hours of interviews were conducted, thirty-seven hours of shadowing/observations were completed, two hours of

conversations/discussions were documented, and daily journaling by me was completed over the four months of data collection.

Entrance into the Field of Administration

The information collected in this section was drawn from the initial interviews with the principals. Subsequent sections will also draw from observations/shadowing, discussions/conversations and journaling by me.

The topic of choosing the field of education as a profession and later entering into educational administration was referred to by both women during the interviews. Frances indicated that she would choose the field of education if she had it to do over again but she has some reservations:

> I really don't know. I have really enjoyed being in education, however, it is rewarding as well as very challenging, very difficult. In terms of the salary that one gets, one is never compensated for the amount of time one puts in and I think my decision, back when I made it in the early sixties, I made because I did not know all the options that were available in terms of career options and so you weren't making it totally willingly. There was some ignorance involved in your decision making and so once you get into it ..... so at this point in my career (which is winding down), would I do it all over again? I think I probably would, but I would certainly fight much harder for increased compensation because the job needs to be

> compensated at a higher rate because of what we do. You see what other professionals do and what they get compensated for what they do. I am looking at myself here as a CEO in a corporation. I have 1500 customers coming in a day. I have a staff of 140 that I have to deal with and evaluate and etc., and as a CEO I should be paid accordingly. I don't really think that we are.

Louise's attitude was somewhat different toward choosing the field of education as a profession over again.

> Yes, without a doubt I would enter the field of education again. I can't see myself doing anything else; working in any other field.

Louise was very emphatic that she would enter the field of education again if she had it to do over despite the difficulties encountered by a woman.

> Yes I would (chuckles)...(laughs). Yes I would. Because, I'm a fighter. When you are doing what you feel strongly about, you just have to keep going. That's stayed with me. I've always done that. I recall when I was preparing to be a Spanish teacher, the supervising teacher, she said, you know, you're going to be an outstanding teacher. But I want you to do this, do that, and all, and jump through all these 'hoops,' The point of schooling is to take children from where they are to some other place, better. Better, I mean, for the quality of life for them. Everyone knows that this is what we're doing; we are preparing to be leaders, in my class.

> So, I'm accustomed to fighting for my point of view. It's a calling; it's not just a job. When you decide to be in front of children, to be an educator, that is a great responsibility. But you have to stand up for what you believe is right. You can't let the system stop you. Because otherwise, why do it?

The question of entrance into the administrative field was an interesting one for the principals. Both are very capable people and, as teachers, were recognized as potential administrators by the administrators with whom they worked. In the case of Frances, her talents were recognized by the people around her and she had a mentoring relationship of sorts:

> I was approached when I was still teaching. I was approached by a female who was an assistant principal at the school where I was a teacher and she encouraged me to become a guidance counselor. She said that they needed another guidance counselor and I said, 'I don't have a degree in that.' I had a masters in biology and had taken one counseling class at Rockford while I was getting my Master's. She said, 'You have a great rapport with kids. I really think you will make a dynamite counselor, and you are the person we want.' She had to do some fighting for that because there were two people that were on the faculty who already had degrees but she put me in that position. She was very encouraging during that whole process.... she continued to encouraged me in that she wanted me to stay at that particular school and assume the assistant principal position in terms of programming. As it turned out, her

> husband got a job in Washington, DC. They moved to Washington, and I left a year later and never continued to seek an administrative position there but she certainly encouraged me to go into administration.
>
> Then once I went on to take the degree in recreation, I got into a whole different line of administration that was administration in terms of a recreation program where I had a lot of part time people. I applied for the job. I got the job. Throughout that whole process, people encouraged me to go for the job. I have organizational skills, and when you know that you have those kinds of skills, I think you just have more options open to you, though sometimes that can be confusing. The more options you have the more confusing career choices can be.

Louise's experience was also one of being approached and encouraged to enter into administration by the administrators with whom she worked. She also had a person in her life who could be viewed as a mentor:

> I did receive encouragement from male administrators who had supervised me. I look back and I think that, I feel I did an excellent job as a teacher but I think that they thought, 'Ha! Who is this woman who never sends children to the office? Maybe she would do a good job at administration or in administration.' So, I had an opportunity to substitute, from time to time, as an assistant principal. I was encouraged by the principal to go into administration and I had already started taking

courses in administration after a couple of years in teaching.

How These Women Experience Their Professional Lives

This sections looks at the data as related to the second research question. This section portrays data as collected over the four month period of the study. The data are presented as if it was a sequential day in the life of these woman principal. This is not the case. The data were collected over a four month period and sequenced into a day according to the time of day the data were collected. Therefore, the data are presented in the time sequence of a school day rather than chronologically by the date of collection. The data were a result of observations/shadowing.

Frances

The second research question explains how women urban high school principals experience their professional lives. It is hoped that the following narrative will give the reader some insight into the professional lives of these two women.

It was April 19, and Frances' day began at 6:00 a.m. with an administrative team meeting. I arrived a bit early and had coffee at the

counter in a restaurant about a mile from Elderbrook High School. Frances arrived within a few minutes with one of the four assistant principals. I was introduced and two more assistant principals arrived and we sat at a table. Frances asked one of the AP's to call the fourth because the person was usually early. It turned out the fourth assistant principal had forgotten the meeting and would be on her way shortly.

The four began to talk about an "outpost" location which I assumed was for an alternative program. They discussed a rent-free situation at the nearby university. Frances said that she wanted to call a meeting in May with the group from the university to discuss the possibility of using a room in the school of education rather than in a district school.

There was discussion about a teacher who was ready for retirement but was choosing not to leave and would be placed at the alternative location. "Who knows," says Frances. "He may be a shining star. We can start observations right away." Frances felt that the university should offer a room, "If they are committed to urban education then what better way to show it than offering a site."

The group went on to discuss those teachers who would be retiring that year. Frances commented, "The big three are not retiring." Frances related her choice for a new science department chair and the consensus was, "Good choice."

Frances continued with her agenda which she had in front of her. "All of the schools will complete teacher needs survey distributed at the end of this month. Frances was reminded of a supervision issue. "Jose, you have to get into William's classroom at the end of this month. We need to access her math skills because I think we are going to move her out of business and into math. I was in there earlier in the year and it was OK. Then we could look for a business teacher."

In discussing a teacher on workman's compensation, "Boy Jose you couldn't have warned me better about that one. This was a pattern at the other building." Then Christa arrived and there was laughter about her being late and usually being the first person there and finishing breakfast before anyone arrived.

The next item on the agenda was the fact that central office wanted to move a physically handicapped classroom into Elderbrook but the only room was the one that they had been looking at for a day care. There was an informal observation made by Jose that the number of pregnant girls had increased. The others concurred. There was discussion about starting a task force to look into the issue and Frances said, "I am all for it!"

There was discussion about the district high school which had just had a student death during a fight and they commented that it could happen in any high school in the district. The team felt that their best defense was to

communicate situations to each other. Jose had to leave to get back to the building. There were two Hispanic men, one black man, and two white women at the meeting. It ended at 7:20 a.m.

It is now 7:30 a.m. on April 26 and I have just arrived at Elderbrook High for a observation/shadowing session. Frances is at the table in her office setting up for a meeting. She tells me to take a seat in the corner. There was a student in the outer office when I came in waiting to see her.

Frances leaves the office to speak to the secretary and then makes an announcement to the teachers over the P.A. system regarding the teachers turning in scan sheets. She asked the secretary if two teachers were in and then made a phone call. She said, "A couple of things. We are putting out sheets for teachers and I'm wondering if there are any coaching positions open for next year?" There was a discussion regarding someone retiring. I gathered Frances was talking to the athletic director. Frances brought up an incident regarding a student at a soccer game. It seems the student knew the coach for the opposing team and when he offered her good luck, the student had said to him, "We are going to beat the shit out of you."

Frances was very upset that the student had said such a thing and indicated her displeasure. Frances insisted that the student apologize to the coach and sit out a game. Frances brought up a second issue where a game had been forfeited because the team had failed to wait for the opposing team

to arrive after the umpire had asked them to wait a few minutes. Frances is very direct and her voice is strong, "It doesn't matter. You sit the kids on the bus and wait if the umpire says wait. I'm going to tell you. According to the umpire, we forfeit the game. You don't want to teach impatience to kids." There was more talk and Frances laughed several times. Frances mentioned that she had been at a board meeting until 10:30 the night before. The call took about fifteen minutes. There was more laughter and Frances said, "It was good that you did that." Frances was direct but left the lines of communication open and laughed quite often during the conversation. There was more discussion about filling coaching positions and Frances said, "I know it is a pain." The call ended.

A teacher stopped in regarding the inscription on a plaque and luncheon arrangements. The discussion took about five minutes and Frances then called an assistant principal over the walkie-talkie to join them for a discussion regarding programming. Frances moved from behind her desk to the table so the three could sit together and talk. Frances leaned on her hands and listened to the teacher. The assistant principals arrived and said to Frances, "Excuse me but I have already done a hundred things today." The assistant seemed very stressed. Frances moved her hands when she talks in graceful, easy motions. The three talked about personnel issues within the counseling department for about ten minutes and the teacher left. Frances

asked the assistant to stay behind and discuss the security peoples' positioning in the building. The conversation took about ten minutes.

Frances walked to the outer office and told the secretary to have the student who had been waiting for her when I arrived come in. The assistant came back in and said there was an emergency phone call that Frances needed to take which she did. Then the assistant left and Frances sat back down at the table with the student. Frances took about twenty minutes with the student on an issue he had regarding his relationship with one of the teachers. Frances's counseling skills came through as a strength when dealing with the student. She promised to speak to the teacher and if the situation did not get better, he was to come back to see her in a week. She pulled out the students grades and said, "Well, you are certainly doing better this year and we are very proud of you." He seemed very pleased with himself.

The student left and a teacher walked in with a budgeting issue regarding a book order. She took about five minutes with the teacher and the issue was solved. Frances is wearing comfortable black slacks and a casual black jacket. She has a tiger T-shirt on under the jacket and a tiger button on her lapel which represents the school mascot. While she was talking to the teacher, the secretary handed her a memo which she glanced at and put in a file on the desk. The teacher left.

Frank, the publicist arrived for a scheduled meeting regarding a special project assignment involving contacting alumni to initiate fund raising for the high school. It was 8:45 a.m.

It is 8:50 a.m. on January 22, and I am in the corner of Frances' office at a table observing. Frances used her walkie-talkie to contact a teacher to let the teacher know about a schedule change for later in the day. An assistant principal came into the office to discuss the shortage of locker space. Frances agreed that this is a problem and suggested that they meet latter in the week to discuss possible solutions. Frances explained her reasons as to the need to contact custodians regarding the issue and also budget problems which may arise because of the remodeling.

There are "fighting tiger" statues on her desk. This is there for students, faculty, and parents to see. Frances is dressed in a very striking outfit--slacks which seem comfortable and easy to move around in. She has on a printed jacket which is loose and long. She has on a turtle neck and simple gold earrings. She has on black flat shoes which look comfortable and practical. A teacher came in to comment on the recent basketball victory. Frances comments that the next two games coming up are vital to the teams chances to go to state tournaments.

As soon as the teacher left the office, another teacher entered and asked about a student by name. Frances knew the student and the teacher

proceeded to ask about a grading procedure. Frances explained the procedure as being one in which the teacher had the option to reschedule the student for an additional class and the teacher agreed that was a viable option. The teacher then commented about another student who was having problems in a math class and Frances told her to reschedule the student in to another hour.

As soon as the teacher left, Frances dialed the telephone. Frances called a counselor to verify that the information she had given to the teacher was correct. Another teacher walked into the room and asked about a memo she had received. Frances took the time to answer the teacher's questions. Frances' response showed that she was aware of the union guidelines. Three people had been in the room within ten minutes.

Two custodians entered the room and asked me if "the boss" was here. They were smiling and seemed very relaxed. Frances said, "OK, guys." The phone rang and Frances motioned to the men with an index finger and took the call. Another teacher entered the room while the custodians were measuring the flyer that Frances wanted hung in the hallway. The flyer designated the school as a successful high school. The teacher let Frances know that Frank had arrived for a meeting.

Frances spoke to the custodians and they agreed to walk out into the hall to measure the place where the sign would be hung. The custodians treated Frances in respectful but casual tones. It seemed as though there was

a good relationship between the two parties. When the arrangements were made, Frances said, "OK, thanks fellas!"

Frances showed me the folders she uses on a daily basis for the paper flow. One says, "read immediately" and one says, "read soon." Her secretary puts the paperwork into the files daily and Frances reads them daily. Frances said that she felt responding to the people in the building as soon as possible was important. She also reiterated that there is a great amount of paperwork with the job.

Frances sat down at the desk to work. She listened to the walkie-talkie while she does paperwork. There is almost constant conversation on the walkie-talkie. A teacher walked in and Frances called her by her first name. She put her work aside and focused on the teacher and what she was saying. The secretary interrupted that there was a phone call and asked Frances if she wanted to take it. The secretary moved slowly and spoke deliberately and smiled allot. She seems to be very comfortable with Frances and with the chaos around the office.

Frances answers and returned a call from a message Mary had given to her. The call involved following up on the grading of a student. Frances read the transcript of grades easily. Frances asked the guidance counselor how the student was doing.

Frank, a publicist, and Dorothy a parent representative, came into the room and Frances introduced me as Mrs. Lad. I did not correct her because she was just too busy for the "Mrs." to seem important. The parent brought three children with her. The parent baby-sits during the day and brought the children to the meeting. Frances showed the children where to sit on the floor in the corner of the room and the children got out the books they had brought along. France seemed not at all disturbed that the children were there though the mother apologized for having to bring them. In the room, there was a parent, three children, Frank, and me all making demands on her time.

The meeting began. It was about publicity for the upcoming play at Elderbrook High School. The phone rang and Frances took the call and then made a call. The walkie-talkie was on all during the meeting. She worked on paperwork while she was on the phone.

Frances came back to the table after the phone calls and repeated what Frank had said only he had used the term "alderman" and she changed it to "alderperson." Frank then used the word "alderperson" from then on when making the reference.

The session was a problem-solving session regarding the way in which the tickets for the play should be sold. Frances brought up alternative options on three occasions during the meeting. She brought up the idea of advance sales to increase play attendance. Frances allowed every member to

participate during the meeting. She asked their opinion if they did not offer it. She sits with one ankle across the opposite knee at times. She had on classy, long culottes so she could move easily. Frances brought up more options and kept the meeting moving by asking questions of the participants.

There was disagreement as to the pricing of the tickets for the play. Frances offered a compromise as a solution and the others agreed. Frances said, "Do we know this is true?" The group answered by not responding and Frances went on, "Then we should find out." The parent offered to find out the necessary information.

Frances took notes during the meeting in a file she has marked as "Play." There was a question about dates. Frances called in Mary, the secretary, and asked her to check on the accuracy of the dates. Mary knew the information and related it. The custodian came into the room to get the flyer to hang. He came in and went without a word. Frances did not interrupt him.

The group had input into all the decisions that took place during the meeting. Frank mostly listened and at the end offered two suggestions of ways in which he could offer assistance. Frances had a way of making the group look at alternatives by asking questions such as, "What if we would do it this way?" or "What would happen if this took place?" At the end of the meeting Frances summarized the decisions that had been made and asked

each person to tell what they had to do before the next meeting. She set limits when the parent mentioned having students distribute information for the play, "I don't want to use kids for distribution; that should be adults."

Frances said when a question of seating came up, "Let's go to the auditorium and look." The group felt they did not need to go and could make a decision without the trek. Frances agreed. Frances would say things like, "I don't have a problem with this, but I do have a problem with that." Frances went to answer the telephone and casually stepped over sleeping children to get to the phone.

Frances used her sense of humor at times to break up the tension, "We just want to break even, we don't care about profit!" There was laughter all around. The secretary came in and told her she had a return call and Frances took it. Frances used the phrases, "Oh, great" and "Oh, good" often to reinforce participants. Someone asked when the next hour was and Frances looked up to the wall where she had the hourly schedule posted so she could be aware of class schedules at a moments glance. A call came over the walkie-talkie. Frances contacted a teacher on the phone and requested that she go to a telephone so that she could receive a call from central office. There was a child at her foot while she was making the call. Frances looked down and said, "Hi!" to him then went right on with the conversation over the phone. Frances called the secretary to transfer the call to the teacher.

Frances then came back to the group and summarized everyone's tasks before the next meeting and clarified when there were problems. Phone numbers were exchanged and Frances reviewed the calendar as it related to their tasks while she sat back with her hands behind her head and one leg over the other. Mary interrupted with updated information which clarified a point. Frances said, "One last thing. Does this group need another meeting?" The group agreed that they did. They coordinated schedules and set a date for February 9th. Then Frances reiterated what had to be done by the next meeting. She set the time of the meeting at 9:45 a.m. Then Frances recommended the movie, Mr. Holland's Opus, to everyone and reminded Frank to meet with Malana before the next meeting.

The walkie-talkie started talking. The next meeting was with the assistant principal of programming and a teacher. The meeting time was immediate. Frances took about 60 seconds to get organized while the assistant principals waited. Frances had all of her folders ready in advance. Frances explained to me who these people were and explained to them who I was and the meeting began. Another teacher walked in to show Frances a piece of information and left. An aide walked in and asked a question.

The meeting was regarding a proposed attendance plan. Frances flipped her pad and started making notes as soon as the assistant principal Christa, began talking. Frances targeted what was needed to solve a space

problem and noted where money could be used from the budget to accommodate. Frances also had another file of notes there about the issue which she referred to as needed. Frances kept the walkie-talkie near her and occasionally turned up the volume when she thought a message may need her attention.

Frances asked Christa for suggestions. The problem was that an attendance aide needed space. Frances leaned back, crossed her legs, and put her hands behind her head. Frances used her hands when she talked. She mentioned alternatives. Frances always had an eye on the walkie-talkie. "The first thing we need to do is find out the cost. Additionally, in terms of duties, we need to know what we are looking at (Frances is writing)." She says to Christa, "Go ahead." Christa offered several suggestions. Frances asked the teacher who was present how she thought the teacher would do things. The teacher offered several suggestion and Frances listened and encouraged her to continue with "Uh huh," and "OK" and Frances chewed on her nail while she was listening. Frances used direct eye contact when people were speaking and also took notes during the meeting. She wrote down what was decided and what was yet to be done. Frances used the phrase, "we need to" quite often. The phone rang. Frances ignored it this time. There was a question of truancy policies from Christa and Frances repeated the correct

policy to her. Frances said to Christa, "I understand what you're saying and I want this to start next semester."

Frances knowledge of the District Attorney's policies also came to light. She said, "I want to spend energy with the kids who are doing well and start sliding." Frances pointed her index finger on the desk for emphasis. Her body language told me she was very concerned with students who fail. "What I am going to try to do is this....What we need to do is....what we need to do next is set up a meeting and you need to bring copies of letters and you need to think through and set up a plan. What would that plan be? We will meet (she looks at the calendar) at noon on Thursday. Leave it at noon I have a 2:00 p.m. on Thursday so that will work out. Does that give us enough time?" Each of them had their tasks to complete prior to the next meeting when they left the meeting. The teacher made a suggestion regarding people to bring in. Frances responded to the suggestions and made notes. Frances listened when the teacher talked and verbally encouraged her to talk by saying, "Go on." The teacher made notes on what needed to be done for the next meeting as did Frances. Frances summarized verbally what was to be done. Frances always took notes on what she was to do for the next meeting, "What I see the need for....." She uses a Tiger cup for her coffee. It is 11:45 a.m.

It is 12:00 p.m. on Thursday, January 25, 1996. I arrived for an observation/shadowing session and Frances was involved in a parent teacher conference which she preferred I did not attend. As she was coming out of the office, a teacher caught her, upset over a student who the teacher discovered had been assigned to another school and was still attending Elderbrook. Frances invited the teacher and me into the office and immediately called the attendance office to find out the status of the student. The teacher was correct and she thanked him for his help and said, "Good, good going." The teacher left and Frances went to converse with the secretary and another teacher stopped her with an issue. She responded and had to come back in to answer the phone. Another teacher was there for a conference and sat in the office eating her lunch. Frances dealt with four situations within ten minutes.

A teacher walked by her office and Frances called out praise for a job well done then asked her how her new program was going. Another teacher walked in with a time issue. Frances checked the information on her calendar and made an immediate decision on a time change.

The person sitting in her office eating lunch was actually the programming assistant principal who was waiting for a scheduled meeting. The assistant principal seemed very comfortable eating lunch in Frances'

office. It seemed as though this was often routine. Frances used humor often during the meeting and there was often laughter.

Frances was obviously aware of the teacher's schedules by the comments that she made. The assistant principal was clearly very knowledgeable about the teachers and students schedules. Frances also took out her lunch and the two worked while they ate. Frances wanted to double check with the assistant principal on a supervision schedule before it went out to the teachers. Frances was very business-like. She was direct and moved from issue to issue quickly with comments like, "That's good, let's move on."

There was a frankness between the two women. They spoke their minds and each listened to the other. Frances checked on the accuracy of an issue with her file and summarized what had been accomplished and what each of them had to do before the next meeting.

All of the administrators, including Frances, wear identification tags. This seemed odd to me at first but one must remember that this is an urban system. The secretary interrupted with a call for Frances. Frances thanked her. Frances pointed out an article in the local paper on Elderbrook's basketball team saying the team had a chance to go to state and they both laughed, and Frances said, "This is a miracle. Write that down. A miracle happened at Elderbrook!"

A teacher poked her head in and asked a question regarding a student and the assistant principal answered. Frances commented on the family of the student. The theater teacher stopped in. She related a story about play rehearsals. Much laughter. Another person stopped in and dropped off a paper for Frances. All were very comfortable coming in and out. The discussions turned to teacher walk-on during the upcoming play and a teacher walking by yelled, "I'll do it!" There was laughter. Frances asked the play director who was standing in the door to think about it as being good for student moral. Frances asked the director about her time and how it was going. Frances expressed concern for the hours the director put in. The director seemed to appreciate the concern. As the director left, Frances called out, "Take care, Marlana!"

There was quiet for less than thirty seconds when a teacher came in and asked if he could talk to Frances for a minute. He asked Frances for leave time to research material for a math Olympics tournament in which he was involved. They talked about his multicultural approach to education and the success he had been having in his classroom. Frances extended her congratulations and encouraged him to keep up the good work, "That class for our kids is better than civics at the ninth grade level." They were discussing a class he was teaching about Africa. The assistant principal also

congratulated him on his efforts and commented that, "being involved in the curriculum improves the students self-concept."

The phone rang. Frances took the call and followed up by giving the secretary some instructions. Meanwhile, the teacher and the assistant principal discussed curriculum. Frances ate her lunch while she made a follow-up call. The assistant principal said she had to get back to work and she hoped the meeting was done and left. Frances handled another phone call from a teacher asking about giving an incomplete. Frances was very knowledgeable about the situation. Her counseling background came through. Another teacher stopped in and Frances pointed out the article on the basketball team which she began hanging on the door to her office while she talked to the teacher about the team.

Another assistant principal popped in and asked Frances to proof a handout that she was going to distribute to the teachers. Frances took the time to proof the hand out. The assistant talked to her about another issue while Frances read the handout and Frances responded to what she had talked about and then she made two suggestions regarding the handout. Frances praised the assistant. Frances was very efficient. She used verbal praise appropriately to reinforce positive behavior. The two then discussed a teacher issue regarding scheduling. The experience that both Frances and the assistant principal had with programming students was an advantage. The

secretary came in. Frances explained the situation about the student who was attending the school but should be attending another school and instructed the secretary to follow-up. A teacher came to the door and Frances invited her in. They proceeded to discuss a problem while Frances finished eating. Frances offered verbal praise such as, "I know; that's great; you did fine."

That teacher left and another stopped in and there was one waiting behind him to see Frances. The public address system came on. Everyone stopped to listen, then went on with their business. Frances solved a space problem with the first teacher then discussed an advanced placement seminar with the teacher who had been waiting. Frances offered two alternatives for scheduling during exam week. It came out during the conversation that the teacher's car had been stolen out of the parking lot the past fall and totaled. The teacher, Dan, said he had gotten a ride to the seminar because he no longer had a car and the story came out for my benefit. Dan suggested a course that the school might offer for the next year. Frances brought up a contractual issue and explained the impact to Dan. He asked for release time for a conference which Frances approved. Then she said, "I think what you need to do is.....you make the choice." The secretary came in and notified Frances that an appointment was waiting.

A teacher came in with a parent who was the parent coordinator. The teacher complained to Frances that she had to wait "in line." Frances invited

them in and opened the door so that she could keep an eye on the lobby area (my interpretation). The secretary came in with a question. Frances looked through some files and came up with the answer. A teacher in the outer office shouted, "This is a dumb question." and Frances responded that, "There wasn't such a thing as a dumb question."

Frances then recapped to the parent what had been discussed previously and talked about the parent making calls for the PTA and exchanging data bases with another source. "We need for you to do this; what you need to do is this." They discussed getting parents involved in the plays and the basketball games coming up.

Frances wore flat shoes, stretch slacks and a jacket. Frances talked to the parent representative and the teacher about having parents at a session where parents were choosing student's high schools. The parent attending this meeting had a son at Elderbrook. Frances spoke to the parent using her first name. It was clear that both were comfortable and had a positive relationship.

Frances had her file open on the desk with notes for issues to discuss. The phone rang and Frances answered it and followed up immediately with another call to resolve the issue. Frances used people's first names.

There seems to be a positive relationship between Frances and her secretary. The secretary seemed to be very efficient and a right hand person

to Frances. There was the use of humor between the two. Frances introduced me to everyone as Mrs. Lad. Its is interesting to me that Frances assumes that I am married. I did not correct her. I do not want to make an issue of it.

Frances turned to the parent representative and said, "Dorothy, now it is your turn." The parent brought up several issues including block scheduling of freshman and how to arrange parent/teacher conferences. There seemed to be a relaxed feeling between the parent and Frances and humor was used by both. The phone rang and Frances ignored it this time. Frances moved quickly around the room. Frances then asked the parent about her own children and gave her a copy of the basketball news article. The secretary came in and placed something on Frances' desk and said, "I know there has to be a desk around here somewhere. There has to be a desk holding up all of this paper!" They all laughed. Frances asked everyone to relate their task to complete before the next meeting and a date was scheduled. Everyone left.

The secretary came in and Frances and her discussed an appointment that Mary had set up for Frances. Frances then made the public address system announcements reminding the faculty of a staff development meeting later that day. After she had gone back to her desk, Frances called in a teacher who was walking by and said, "I have a poster for you. This one is

riddled with humor." They laughed. The athletic director came in (I was surprised when the someone was introduced as the Athletic Director). There was an issue where one of the male teachers had said that Frances was always getting rid of the men. Frances told her that the man was not the only one who had gotten the letter in question but that everyone had. The athletic director smiled and left. Frances suggested the athletic director post the basketball article. The secretary came in and said there was a line waiting. Frances said, "One more," meaning she had time to see one more teacher before the staff meeting began. The time was 2:00 p.m.

It is 2:45 p.m. on March 4, 1996 and the Elderbrook is having a faculty meeting with Frances presiding. It took about fifteen minutes for everyone to arrive so the meeting actually began at 3:00 p.m. The meeting began with Frances introducing students who had received a 4.0 for the past semester. She introduced them first as a group and then individually and presented each with an award which varied depending upon whether they had a 4.0 for the semester before. Frances' secretary attended the meetings and took notes.

Frances then presented the Teacher-of-the-Month Award and the students all cheered for the teacher. Frances asked the faculty if anyone had any other commendations which no one did. The students were then dismissed.

Frances asked a group of teachers who were sitting way outside of the group to move in and they did so reluctantly. Frances announced that the school engineer substitute would start on Monday. Several student representatives gave information regarding the upcoming play. Frances asked several of the teachers to please pay attention. She did so in a humorous way.

About 70 people attended the staff meeting. Frances gave information on UPATH and TAP Grants. The staff, in general was attentive. The woman next to me asked me if I was a substitute and said subs did not have to attend the meetings. I told her I was observing urban woman principals and she said, "We've got a good one!"

Frances spoke well. She was clear and organized in her presentation. She explained things and often gave examples one of which was the suspension list as a way to speed up daily bookkeeping. Frances answered five questions regarding the suspension list procedure. She explained temporary passes in detail. Teachers were, in general, very respectful.

Frances went through a handout of statistics regarding the district high schools and pointed out how that Elderbrook faired well in comparison. Three men were sitting behind me. They were too quiet for anyone but those in the immediate area to hear. Such comments as, "What a bunch of crap" and "We've stayed until 4:00 p.m. isn't that enough?" were made. The

meeting ended with about ten people walking up to Frances to talk to her individually. Most left casually. Some left in a great hurry. It was 4:00 p.m.

Louise

I had a shadowing/observation with Louise. It was tough because she found out last night she is being replaced next year because of the districts restructuring of the schools that are "failing." She was emotional but kept her sense of humor and kept her focus on business as well as student's feelings. I was glad I was there. I think she was too. She asked questions about her research class. I talked to one of the professors so I can give her some ideas. I 'm sure it is going to take her a while to put this in perspective.

It is 9:00 a.m. on February 1, 1996. I was in the corner of Louise's office at Robers High School. Louise had just been notified that the school is being re-staffed for next year. This was the result of a decision that was made by the district's school board the night before based upon the school board's decision to close and then re-open schools whose students were under-achieving with new staffs ("School Board Closes Schools", 1995). The school board felt students in several district schools were not achieving and that a solution would be to bring a whole new teaching staff into each of the targeted schools.

Louise has been told that there would be interviews by two principals, herself and an interim principal being brought in to assist with the re-staffing.

Louise was told she would finish out the school year at Robers. She was not told where she would be placed or if she would have a job for the next school year. Louise said, "The hardest part is dealing with the eyes of the children who know I'm going to leave. I have to get the children the things that I promised them before I leave. That's my goal for now."

"The new principal for next year will be in and out. I'll be here until the year ends. That is what I have been told." Louise felt it was interesting to see who had been coming in and out of her office to see her and who had not come in. "It is as if someone in the building had died."

Louise said, "I was glad you were coming in today. I thought it would keep some people from coming in." It was very weird. There was no one; no noise. Its was not like a high school. No one was approaching the principal. Louise seemed content and was gracious and smiling. It must be very difficult for her. She does not let down. She shows strength.

Louise told me about an incident that happened yesterday when a substitute said something like whenever there is a disturbance, "the niggers have to come to see what is going on." Louise said he had made the comment, the teacher that is, to two white students and must have assumed it was okay because there were three white students there. The three students were very offended and reported the incident to Louise and asked her to deal with it.

Louise laughed, "I have gone through three pieces of mail and no one has come in. This has never happened before. It may have to do with the announcement that Ms. Newton is leaving. "It is very unusual, nothing coming in over the walkie-talkie." Louise steps out to speak to an assistant principal. It is quiet. The secretary comments that this is very unusual. She checked with the attendance office to see if anything is going on.

Louise said, "I have never seen it this quiet in this building." Louise left her office to walk in the halls. She seemed upset.

Louise said to me, "I have said that the teachers need to stand while supervising the halls. No more sitting down. You have to do what you have to do. I am not here to win a popularity contest. I am here for the children. I see this as a calling not a job but a career. Perhaps that is from personal experience. I know that I can ruin lives."

Louise related that someone had once said that, "Louise's problem is that she thinks she can save every child." It is sad that they see that as a problem.

Louise has a great sense of humor. Louise said, "It is so quiet that I can't help but think there is some kind of conspiracy going on." I was in the room for thirty minutes and the phone had not rung. Louise said again, "It is so quiet in here."

Louise showed a memo to me that she intended to hand out to the teachers. The memo was very direct and stated that they were expected to float through the halls during hall duty rather than sit in a desk in the hall. Louise felt, "They will really think I'm awful after they read this." The phone rang. She has a soft phone voice. She speaks slowly and quietly and gives the impression of concern.

The bell rang and Louise asked me to walk the halls during class change with her. Louise dealt with three students in the hall within ten minutes. One wanted to talk to her about her leaving. She checked on the grades of another and the progress of a third. One of the students was upset over her leaving. After she talked to the student, Louise commented to me, "How will I sleep at night?"

On the way back to the office Louise confided to me that one of the students told her they were planning a walkout to protest her leaving and she had discouraged them. Louise said to me, "I knew it was too quiet!" It is a very emotional day for Louise. She said she is hesitant to see staff because she is afraid some will be upset. Louise maintains her cool with the students. It is clear to the observer that the students come first for Louise. She stopped to talk to a student on the way back and spent a good ten minutes talking to him privately.

There was a meeting scheduled for 10:00 a.m. regarding a choir extravaganza that was to be held at Robers High School. Two women and one man attended. They were all African American. They sat grouped around the table. One of them was on medical leave but had come in for the meeting. She was in a wheel chair and the room arrangements were rather crowded but Louise saw that everyone was comfortable and went to some lengths to get sugar and creamer for the coffee.

The group began to discuss the arrangements for a day of visiting choirs. Louise listened for about the first ten minutes and then quietly interjected a suggestion which the group followed up on. Then, at the end of the meeting, Louise said, "Well, here is what we are going to do." She let each person know what task they were to complete before the next meeting. Louise listened with her hand on her chin and her head slightly cocked, which gives the impression that she is very intent upon what is being said. Louise spoke slowly, quietly very directly using such phrases as, "Here is what we are going to do" or "This is what needs to be done."

Louise is dressed in slacks and a jacket. I have never seen her in a skirt. She has on flat, casual shoes. The secretary came in and called Louise out of the meeting to talk to a teacher. The group went on with their discussion. Louise came back in and saw that the discussion needed to be wrapped up. She did that. She made a joke by saying, "No, not 'we' but

'they'." Everyone laughed. It was a very congenial atmosphere. There were a lot of smiles and there was much laughter. The general feel of the meeting was low key much like Louise herself.

The issue came up that there were problems with the typing that a student was doing. The typing was not accurate. Louise said, "The secretary will type it from now on." This showed her directness in decision making. Louise immediately called the secretary into the room and clarified the issue. Then everyone left.

Another meeting is scheduled for 11:00 a.m. regarding black history week events. There is an artist who arrives to discuss creating a display for the display case. Louise introduced me and immediately suggested that we go to look at the display case as a place to start. The three of us headed up to second floor.

In the hallway, the students immediately surround Louise. They all want to talk to her at the same time. The students touch her and she touches them. As we walked, the artist asked Louise how she liked her job. Louise responded with, "I love it! This place gives me a chance to fulfill what is my mission." There was no hesitation in her response.

We went back to the office and the two talked budget for the display case work. She has a picture of her young son on her desk. There is no picture of her older son who is twenty-four. The office is very neat. The

secretary interrupts and Louise is in the hallway dealing with a student. A teacher intercepts her on her way back to the office to discuss an issue.

Louise was direct with the artist. "I would like to have something done on the first floor and outside the office." A student arrived with sugar and cream packages which were requested. Louise says, "There are two things we need to discuss before we deal with the bulletin boards." She asks questions and quietly waits for responses. A student knocks on the door and delivers to Louise a copy of the memo that is being passed around regarding the possible "walk-out." Louise thanks the student for the information and puts the memo on her desk under a pile of papers.

Louise says to the artist, "So, we are set." The meeting ends and the artist leaves. Louise goes back to her desk and makes a phone call to a teacher regarding a student who had talked to her in the hallway. It is 12:30 p.m. I say good-bye.

On February 6th, I attended the all district principal meeting with Frances (the observation of this meeting is discussed later in the chapter). Louise was not at the meeting but I ran into her in the hallway. She took my hand and said they had reassigned her to James Middle School as of that day. That was why she was not at the high school principals' meeting. The district had instructed her to attend the middle school meetings.

We walked to the parking lot together and discussed how we would proceed with my study. We decided to focus on the interviews as the shadowing and observations in a high school were no longer possible. I told Louise I would call her at James Middle School to set up the next interview. She joked that if she could not be a principal, maybe she could finish her Ph.D. and teach people to be principals.

Later, I spoke with Louise as to what impact the decision to remove her as principal of Robers High School after only four months of working in the district had on her life. Louise said she felt freed by the possibility that she no longer may stay in education. She felt she had let go of the stress. Ironically, the teacher's union brought suit against the district and the re-staffing of schools was stopped by court order ("Judges Order Stops Implementation of Closing Plan," 1996).

In the six schools that were targeted for closing, Louise was the only principal replaced. The one other principal who was also a woman was not replaced. Neither were the four male principals ("District Superintendent Announces Leadership at Six Schools," 1996). Louise had been in the position as principal for four months when she was removed. The other principals were all tenured in the district.

Louise related that she would not consider getting an assistant principal position as she had been one for eight years prior to her securing the

position as principal at Robers High School. She felt she "could not look at another detention slip." Returning to an assistant principalship was not an option for her.

Louise gave the impression of a woman who has been through much and has come to terms with it. The last time I had seen her she had seemed somewhat unsure of herself. She now seemed like a woman who had been renewed. Louise beamed with confidence.

On April 24, 1996 and I attended a restructuring meeting at James Middle School where Louise had been assigned as the Restructuring Coordinator for a middle school that was targeted for re-staffing in the fall. I met Louise at her office and walked to the meeting room. She arrived about ten minutes early to set up for the meeting. While we were waiting for the Restructuring Committee members to arrive, Louise talked about how she felt restructuring schools by closing them was not the best of ideas. Louise felt that the situation had been handled very poorly.

Louise felt that the focus of the restructuring agenda should not have been replacing the faculties in the school which were having difficulties. This made it look as if the faculty was the problem. Even if the teachers were part of the problem, the focus should not have been solely upon the teachers.

Two women then entered the room. Louise introduced me to the two women and told them that she was the subject of a dissertation study and that

I was there to shadow her. There was about fifteen minutes of down time waiting for the rest of the committee members to arrive. Louise decided to begin the meeting without the principal because of the time constraints of the people on the committee.

Louise told the group (now three people) that only two teachers had responded to the restructuring feedback survey given to all the teachers. Louise reiterated that she would wait until more surveys were returned by the teachers until she presented the results to the committee. There was then a discussion regarding the present parent questionnaire on restructuring and it was decided that the questionnaire would go out with return stamped envelopes rather than being sent home with the students. This would be done in order to get a representative sample of parents who responded to the questionnaire.

Louise reviewed the minutes from the last meeting. She commented on the article that she had handed out to the committee members and asked if anyone had time to read it. No one had, so Louise summarized the article for the committee. The article dealt with the fact that teachers often perceive the administrator as getting extra pay for the meetings and the extra hours that they put in as administrators.

Louise then asked if it would help with attendance if the time of the restructuring meetings were changed. A member pointed out that there were

not enough members there to take a vote. Louise then started on the agenda for this meeting.

Louise requested that members give various reports and she thanked each person after they had given their input. Karen commented that the marketing efforts would continue throughout the school year and discussed the positive difference that color photos made in a brochure.

A member asked Louise if she was aware of what was behind the teachers not responding to the questionnaire. Karen said that there was only so much "asking" you could do and reminded the member that a core group of people do always respond.

There was a report regarding the local technical college and the great efforts that they had gone to in order to support school efforts at encouraging children to participate in camping events. Louise said, "They are really working to help us." Louise said that she had been asked by a community member, "Who at James Middle School was working so hard with the local technical school?" Louise had responded, "Miss Rand." Miss Rand smiled at the encouragement and there was laughter from the group.

There was talk about another program and Louise let the members discuss the issue among themselves for about ten minutes. Another teacher walked in to join the group and Louise smiled and greeted her by name.

After the group had concluded their discussion, Louise went on to discuss the packet she had distributed. Louise asked the members to please distribute the phone numbers of the school board to the staff so that the staff could call school board members and show that there was a core group of teachers from the school interested in the restructuring process.

Louise talked to the group for about ten minutes regarding her views of block scheduling and the possibility of proposing it to the staff for the next school year. She stressed the need for teacher preparation in a block scheduling program. Louise said that she felt the first test that block scheduling should be put to was: "Is it good for children?"

The next issue was accountability to central office. Louise encouraged the group to create their own accountability form before the district imposed a restructuring accountability form on the school. No one responded. Frances then encouraged the group to attend an interim governance meeting taking place on the following Saturday. Louise reviewed the interim governance structure for the group. Related to their involvement, Louise talked to the group about inclusion rather than single power groups running the school. The group did not respond.

Louise announced that the agenda was completed and she reviewed several items with the member who had arrived late. The member apologized for being late. She had to go home to check on her "grandbaby" who had just

moved in with her and her husband. Everyone laughed. Louise asked if there was anything else the group wanted to discuss. No response.

Louise asked one of the members to report on their weekend trip to the Math Olympics. Louise commented, "That is really great!" Louise reviewed what had been discussed in the meeting and laughed and said that this was the first time they had ended before 5:30 p.m. It was 4:50 p.m. Louise said that she would record for the principal the fact that they had gotten out early when he was not there and asked everyone to sign in on a sheet. Louise made a joke about the principal not believing that they had covered the agenda in that amount of time. Frances ended the meeting by asking the group to encourage the teachers to turn in their questionnaires on restructuring.

Just then the principal entered and asked the group for help. He had about fifty-five students that the bus company had refused to take home. He asked the group to car pool to take the students to their homes. Everyone responded affirmatively and Louise said, "You know you can count on me." They all left to organize to take the students home. It was 5:00 p.m.

Influences of Gender on Experiences as Administrators

The third research question in this study asks whether gender influences the experiences of the two women urban high school principals in this study. The following information comes from excerpts of interviews, observations/shadowing, and discussions/conversations and gives us a taste of how gender has and still does play a role in the lives of these women. Frances relates:

> When I went into the recreation program and I was a supervisor in charge of this recreation program for senior citizens, the next step up was the coordinator's position. Recreation programming is extremely male dominated and, at that time, had all males in top position above supervisor which would be the next level up. There were probably about eight of these positions, and there was one female. I was encouraged by the associate superintendent of schools, who was male, to apply for the position. I applied. So did other females. The position was given to an older white male, who, I felt, was just a typical part of the 'boys club.' It was kind of routine. I was extremely upset by that because I felt that they were continuing the status quo. When I raised an objection, I was told that person scored the highest on the interview. So, I went to the equal rights person. I asked her if she could find out how, in fact, people scored. Ultimately it didn't even matter. Sandra could not find out anything. She pretty much, at that time, told me it that this is a hopeless thing to follow.

Frances began to realize, through this experience, that her own career as an administrator could be negatively affected if she continued to be open in voicing her concern of the hiring of a male over a more competent female for an administrative position. Frances also indicated she felt if she wanted to advance her career in administration she would need to leave this particular district. She felt the people who did the administrative hiring were not going to advance a woman beyond a certain point.

> If I really wanted a career in recreational administration, I wasn't going to get anywhere voicing concerns or whatever in terms of having females in higher positions. I did voice the concern to the then associate superintendent of schools and a year later I left, because I had it, working with senior citizens, and I needed a change. I felt at that point that this is not going anywhere and it was not going to go anywhere and that was obvious from his choice of, you know, to put that person in that position, and I just saw the handwriting on the wall. It is very, very discouraging, So, that incident did happen to turn me off on that, but then you see that in business all the time, with the glass ceilings and it's just a matter of, I think, of women staying out there networking and, you know, doing what they have to do to make things happen.

Frances' thoughts also focused on the idea that women are viewed as capable administrators at an elementary level but not at a secondary level. Frances recognized that things have changed in her district regarding the

numbers of women in secondary high school principalships. The numbers of women in the high school principalship had increased in the past five years largely do to the influence of the last superintendent.

> It was very encouraging to me, when I first came to Ralston, that there was one female as a principal in a high school. There were many in elementary, but what that typifies is that women are very capable of taking care of young children, but don't put them in high school. We need a strong male image, coach, you know, jock. That has turned around, as you saw at the meeting that we were at, the principal's meeting, much of that is due to the former superintendent's influence.

The experiences of Louise are similar to the experiences of Frances in terms of the influence of gender on their administrative lives:

> Females are not supposed to hear rude words. And you wouldn't call a female if there's a fight. But interestingly enough, female teachers are so conditioned to think that when there's something physical, they need a man. 'Where's a man--I've heard that over and over. Where's a man? Where's a man? There's a fight. We need a man.' I think that we bring our social situation and orientation and philosophy, into the schools with us. And we've not grown, then, as far yet. Why in the world would I aspire to become an administrator if I thought that females shouldn't break up fights? What is it, legally, that a male can do, that a female

> can't do? You see? Can a male go and whoop the kids? No. Male or female, you have the same line, same resources available to you, which is mostly rhetoric (chuckles), when you go into a fight situation. You're not going to hit a kid. You're not going to slam a kid up against a locker. Phy ed folks usually are the desired group for principals, the desired group to pull in principals from, because they have that 'no-neck' appearance, generally. We use that term, it's a term--my husband is from Hillsboro, Grismo, about 50 miles west of the Dells-- and his mom, all her life, she's been a devoted English teacher, there. She's retired now. We talked about the kind of person that they've always had as principals. And generally, they've always had someone who's B-I-G (chuckles). The kind of guy who walked into the room and, goodness, I hope he doesn't fall on me, you know. Someone who would scare kids. And that's the fear factor. Of course, I'm from another school. I think that we're there to help children become all that they can be, given the resources we have, and the time. We're not there to push our values on them, and that kind of nonsense.

Frances was observed by me at a district wide meeting of the high school principals. An excerpt of the notes taken by me indicates that there are still difficulties for women asserting themselves in a meeting situation with males.

> I observed three administrative meetings. It was clear that the men dominate the discussion. The

> only 'put down' in the discussion was a man's response to a comment a woman had made. That woman did not speak again during the meeting. The men sat together and the women sat together and the interaction and conversation took place at the men's end of the table. The women and men sat in groups during the all-grade level principal's meeting also.

The observation/shadowing sessions with Louise were more limited because the school board in the district voted to close several district schools due to what the district felt was poor performance by the school on standardized tests. Louise's high school was one designated to be closed, which meant that the school principal would be replaced. The data that the school board used in assessing the high school was completed prior to Louise's appointment as principal of the school. Louise had been principal for only four months at the time of the board's decision.

Louise was told of the school board's decision the evening before a shadowing/observation session had been scheduled with the researcher. I wrote the following information following the session:

> It was a hard shadowing /observation. Louise was one of the principals being replaced in the restructuring of the failing schools in the district. She was clearly upset by the situation though she kept on task. Many students were upset and wanted to talk to her as we walked through the halls. She took time for them. She treats the

> students as being as important as the teachers. It was a hard day for her but she kept her cool and did not let her feelings interfere with the meeting she had regarding black history week. She functions at what I interpret as a slower pace, perhaps a type B person. She is much slower in her speech and talk than I am. I guess that is all I can really compare Louise's style to except to the style of Frances who is more a type A person, moving quickly from one thing to the next. There is high quality in both instances. I wondered if the difference is cultural? It was a difficult day for her, but Louise handled it like a trooper.

In a follow-up interview with Louise completed during the summer following this school year, I asked Louise what had happened after she had as a result of the school board's action. Louise was removed to James Middle School a few weeks later and was put in charge of the restructuring agenda. Approximately three weeks before school ended, Louise was sent a letter by the Director of Personnel stating that the superintendent had decided not to renew her contract for the next year.

One week later the school board meet and approved the decision not to renew Louise's appointment without discussion. The principals' association representative spoke to the board regarding the two principals who were not being reappointed. The other principal had been at a middle school. It was about 11:00 p.m. and their were about ten people in the audience. Louise's attorney whom she had hired after she had received the non-reappointment

letter was present and wanted her to read a brief statement he had written if she chose to. Louise chose instead to speak extemporaneously.

> The content of the speech was a statement that I did not think I should have been pulled out of Robers High School in the first place. There had been failure on the part of Central Services to communicate with me. I mentioned that the school had a GPA of 1.6 since 1980 and also that the superintendent had been at the school and while he was that the performance had gone down and no one yanked him out. I also mentioned that during the period that I was there the GPA did go up. To hire someone in August and say you are outstanding, the parents want you, the teachers want you and then yank you out five months later with no explanation is not logical. When parents called Central Services and asked why Louise had been removed they were told Louise had requested to leave and it had nothing to do with her performance. All of these things are not logical. I told them I would like to have a hearing to find out why. I just wanted to know why. I wanted to come to the district to work with urban students and I had been encouraged to do that. I had worked a suburb for eight years and enjoyed it. I had been encouraged by this district to come here and now after five months I am yanked out of the school for no reason.

Louise said it was clear to her that at least three school board members did not understand what had happened.

> It was clear by the looks on their faces that they were a bit perplexed too. One school board member caught me in the hallway after the meeting and assured me they were going to look into this matter.

Louise said that the thing that frustrated her the most was that the superintendant hired her and she had no communication with him since the hiring except to be told by his assistant that the list of needs for Robers High School that she had submitted to Central Services that it could not be done. He had communicated to her that she was being removed from the school in a thirty second conversation. The superintendent had told her it was his decision and he did not have to give any reasons.

> I thought, my goodness, what has happened here. Did I do something while I was sleep walking? Did I insult a family member? What happened here? Is it because I am an agnostic? What is going on?

I asked Louise how this had affected her personally. She said she had trouble sleeping and had bad dreams about running into the superintendent's mother with a grocery cart. She just wanted to know why. If it was not part of her job performance than what was it. I related easily to her feelings as when I had gone through the law suit with the district, I had great trouble sleeping and maintaining the household due to the stress I was under.

Louise's attorney sent a letter to the school board requesting a hearing. One week after school ended, Louise received a phone call asking her to come into Central Services to discuss her reassignement with the district for the next year.

> I told them that I had been an assistant principal for a decade and I was not interested in doing that. I told them I was not interested in a full time teaching position although I am not opposed to teaching. I told them what I would be interested in was a high school principalship. I came to the district as a high school principals and that was what I wanted to do.

Louise did go to Central Services with her attorney's assistant. It was a very brief meeting. She was told she would receive high school principal's pay for the next school year as this was considered an involuntary transfer. Louise was told that after talking to staff, the superintendent had decide that she would not go back to a high school because there were no high schools open at the time but that she would probably be given a middle school principalship.

> I have not heard anything since that meeting. I did go the board meeting the next week where I was reinstated. They did not make an issue of it. My name never came up. Several board members did go out of their way to say hello.

> People are starting to make eye contact with me again. It is amazing how people behave around a person whom they consider a "loser." After a while they start to avoid you. After the speech, maybe three or for did contact me to give me their support. I did not threaten the board with legal action. I asked for a hearing. Knowing "why" would truly help me as I pursued other employment.

Neither Frances nor Louise had any particular remembrances about their first staff and administrators meetings, though Louise recalled being grateful that when she was a suburban assistant principal that assistant principals were included in the meetings as, she found out later, this was not usually the case. Those meetings were actually her first meetings as an administrator. Both had comments on administrators' meetings in general. Louise related:

> My first administrator's meetings were actually in the suburban district where I was an assistant principal. I don't remember clearly the content of that meeting. I do remember being quite pleased that the superintendent would want to include the assistant principal in the administrative team meeting. That was just invaluable experience. I was very appreciative. At that time, I thought that was the norm (laughs) but it wasn't, at that time, nor is it, at this time.

Louise's recollection of her meetings as principal at Robers High School in the urban school district are quite different.

> Robers is a school that, right now, has had over the last two years, three people filling in as principal. My cabinet, my administrative team at Robers, was composed of a male who had served as principal the semester before and two other assistant principals who had been at the school for ten to fifteen years and one other assistant principal, a female, who had been at the school for about five or six years. I think that (chuckles) they were all a little reluctant to have an outsider come into that position. Especially someone who had left the system and had stayed away as an administrator for eight years in one of the richest suburbs around. You know, it was hard for them to believe that I would have knowledge of, or know how to run, a school that's not about 'education.' I could not understand how they had bought into the idea that urban schools (laughs), by nature, are so different from suburban schools in that in suburban schools, educating is going on; in urban schools, you control the kids, you keep the kids in line. One of my assistant principals had been a policeman prior to coming to education. So this was a notion that, yeah, you were a suburban educator, and this is a different ball game here. (Chuckles) In the suburbs, you teach. In the city, you control. Your success here will be determined by the climate of the school. How many kids are in the hall? I have been told that by several people in administration, that that's how you stay on here; that you keep the kids out of the hall. No one is ever going to fire

you or move you to another building because the kids aren't learning. You will be removed if the kids are in the hall. We had a philosophical (chuckling) difference of opinion there because I feel very strongly that, when it comes to education, when it comes to the goal of an administrator, or the goal of the school, or the evaluation of whether or not a teacher or an administrator is performing well--you take a look at how many students are succeeding in the classroom. Outside of the classroom, how the children are feeling. Not how many people went to the office.

This is where we differed. I don't know how you get rid of that attitude. Until that attitude goes away, we're not going to see a rise in the test scores. At that school, I kept harping at all my administrative team meetings. They probably thought, this is just a female from the suburbs, who's accustomed to all these geniuses, that she sees a 1.6 grade point average, she goes ballistic. What is the big deal? This school has never risen above a 1.6, you know, since 1981. This is what we do, this is how we do it--keep the kids out of the hall--but interesting enough, the thing that really bothered me, is that the thought wasn't: keep the children out of the hall so they can be in the class learning but rather, keep them out of the hall because we must protect our safety, we must be safe. The first business here is our safety. And of course everyone wants to be safe. No one wants to be treated inappropriately physically by children. You know, but that's the thought. And perhaps my being a female, contributed to the notion that, that I'm not going to carry a big stick and beat the kids with a baseball bat. But Joe Clark never carried it.

> There were reporters in the school and they were walking around with him, of course, and he happened to walk into a room when a teacher picked up a bat. But he never carried it. Someone got a photo of that, and of course, that makes the story. But no, I endured administrators during administrative team meetings looking into space, looking out the window, not being able to give the eye contact needed because there was a tremendous amount of resentment that someone from the suburbs had become a principal in a major urban school where the goals are very different.

Frances gave her impressions of administrators meetings at Elderbrook High School in general:

> I met with the administrative team today at six o'clock for breakfast; it's a real time issue. I always wondered when I was in teaching why don't they have more meetings? Why don't we meet? We just don't have time. You go to Central Office and you find people meeting all the time but in a high school there isn't time. Is that good? No, because you do need to meet to touch base. Now what happens, people meet informally all day long, especially those who are in an area together. But you do need to have formal meetings and we have tried different things last year. I got pizza and we would go down to the conference room and sit there from 3:30 on but then we noticed that it became endless. We noticed we were still here at 6:00, and you needed a little bit of that, because there were two people that were new and I was a new principal, and so it was a real feeling like we

> just needed to build team. You needed to get together and you needed to take that kind of time. Plus, I invited people over to my home for dinner and we would just sit around and talk. I've done quite a bit of those. I have also asked for mini grants and we will take a Saturday and go to the university, to a conference room in the Union and we would get paid for our time. We would just sit and focus on different types of projects. The last time we all just read a book and took a different chapter and went over those kinds of things. You need to do stuff like that. I would not take this position unless I could have a say into the administrative team, because I really do think in a high school you can't, you need to operate as a team.

Frances gave her opinion of how she felt a functional administrative team is works:

> You can have the best principal in the world, but if you have four administrators that are weak or don't work well you are going to have a terrible team and you will not succeed, it is not going to work and therefore the principal needs to choose the team needs to choose people that they can trust, they can rely on and can do the job that you want them to do. You may work well with me but you may not work well with principal X, and that's just the way it works.

Frances was asked by the researcher if any issues dealing with women specifically came up at any of the administrator's meetings:

> With all district principals' meetings, now that I am thinking about it, we did deal with this issue of women. Several of the women, including myself, said that we felt it wasn't a matter of our being a woman, as to why the men had trouble relating, but that it was more of an issue of a lot of women at Central Office come out of an elementary school background, and they do not understand high schools at all. It is an entirely different world. We felt that it was naiveté on their part in terms of high school and that it was up to us to educate them. It had nothing to do with them being women.

I asked both Frances and Louise how they felt they interacted with staff and how they felt the staff viewed them as administrators. Frances and Louise responded easily to the question. Frances felt:

> I have always looked at myself as the type of leader that tried to engage staff, to get input from the staff, to get their participation in decisions that directly affect them which I have tried to do that. I have good human relation skills. Being a principal and evaluating a staff of 140 is probably the most difficult thing, because you are always, it's a damned if you do, and damned if you don't kind of position. People want you to be a dictator. They want you to deal with bad teachers, but when you do that there are always repercussions to that. You are being a dictator and this is top down and this and that is happening and things get all confused. It's like in one case, you are saying you want a

dictator, but when somebody does make some decisions, and that's what you are being paid to do. So, you need to make decisions, and you can't have input from everybody. The personnel issues can be grueling, especially when you have a building where you haven't had solid administration. You have a lot of changes, so the personnel issues are something, and you had some of the administrators that were there that didn't want to deal with conflict at all. So, they never dealt with things head on, and when you deal with those head on issues it's like the tip of an iceberg, and you just get all kinds of things. When you take hard stands and when you do misconducts, when teachers are not used to misconducts and are not used to getting letters in their files about being tardy and excessively absent, or whatever, it gets very difficult. So, you have teachers who say, 'Great job, keep it up,' and you have other teachers that aren't pleased. They support this teacher who's been teaching for thirty years, and 'how could you say this about this person' who has been doing this for this long. You have someone else coming in saying, 'Can't you do something about this person, why is he still in the classroom?' It has certainly thickened my skin. I feel a good self concept. I feel that they are in administrative positions because their egos need to be fed by the power kind of position. I don't need that. I never have needed that. I do like when people tell me I am doing a good job, but I don't need the power. I don't mean that if somebody comes in here to give me a request that seems reasonable, that I am going to say 'no' just because I feel like saying 'no' which happens. I don't need the power kind thing or the ego building kind of thing. This year especially, because I have taken on some

> hard issues. I have about three court cases. You get into those kinds of things. I have had two people claim sex discrimination because they are older white men who had been taken to task on some things. I changed an older black woman's position from what she was doing as an receptionist, in an area that she is not at all doing a good job in. I moved her into the hall position, because I needed someone in the hall. Well, she called me a racist, a bigot, stormed out of here, and the next thing that happened was the NAACP was calling. Those are the issues that you end up dealing with on a regular basis.

Frances was asked if she thought she had experienced some things differently because she was a woman.

> Well, the case in the recreational department, definitely. I think in terms of Ralston, in getting the position, I do think they were trying to be equitable in terms of recruiting and they knew that they needed to have some good females out in the high schools working with students. I think that I am now experiencing things from a staff level. And it just happens that in terms of teachers anyway, that the people that I am dealing with in terms of misconducts etc. happen to be males. It does make a difference, yes, if you are a woman and you have been in this at all, you know it does make a difference.

Louise had a definite opinion of how she was viewed by staff:

> I thought, very well. Staff would say, 'We haven't had a principal who's as academically oriented as Mrs. Emerson (a.k.a. Louise) since the first principal. But that's not what is needed here, that kind of vision. What is needed, basically, is someone to come and kick these kids out of here, who don't belong.' And of course, being a female, the stereotype is that you would be nurturing and dah-dah-dah, probably less prone to kick kids out and not listen...She's academically oriented. She listens to the students too much. The students feel as though they can go up and talk with her about anything. You're not supposed to have that kind of relationship: principal-student relationship. You should be a feared, 'no-neck' type. I've had friends say, "Why don't you just become an elementary school principal?" That's where they pack females into.

It is important in any study that we learn from the information gathered so that other might benefit. In this respect, I asked the two women in the study to tell me how they felt things could be changed to encourage more women to aspire to the urban high school principalship. Frances's opinions were very definite:

> Well, I think definitely that women seeking these positions really need to have their eyes open and to know what it involves, so I would encourage some type of internship program. I thought that was very helpful as I did that as an assistant. I saw the job. I

did the job. And I still had one foot here and over there, so if I felt, maybe I want to go ahead, instead of now having an administrative degree, maybe I want to be a curriculum supervisor, and go into that end. Now I see exactly what high school assistant principals do, because I have been around. I see what they do in middle schools and you need to ask yourself is this what you want to do. That is very helpful. Lots of times people think they want to go into administration, and once they get into it think, 'Oh god, I don't want to do this.' Without an internship you don't have any way of knowing. So, I definitely think that in education, I think we have to make this process longer. I am all for having students who want to come into education to have a five year program, and spend a whole year in a school and spend the year before spending part of the time observing and doing a bunch other things and then sending that person in that fifth year and even getting that person a stipend. Then having them work. I think this is especially true with women going into administration. Then, once they decide that they are going to do it, then we need to build in support for them. And the support needs to come in terms of simply having somebody that they can call, because things are new and different. You have got to rely on your assistant, and sometimes they don't know the answers. You can bounce some things off of them in terms of school policies, but in terms of personnel matters, the job totally changes. Once you get into principalship, you really focus more on personnel issues. Totally more than students related issues. I think there needs to be a core of women, or other women need to support each other. People need to say, 'Call me,' and that doesn't really happen. People are all

> out for themselves, and maybe that's because they are trying to keep their head above water. I am sure that is what it is.

Frances' advice was very interesting to me. I felt she had a valid point. A woman has to get her life in order before she can take on the job of an urban high school principal. It is hard to know what "in order" means nowadays. What might be viewed as "in order" ten years ago might be quite different from "in order" today. A woman with a commuter marriage might seem fine today where ten years ago it would have been unusual.

Louise did not have a lot to say on the subject of advice to women pursuing an urban high school principal position but did have an idea:

> I think that women who are currently in the field, women who have years behind them; that I would want them to be honest with the new people coming into the field; to maybe do more mentoring. Mostly that.

Influence of Marital Status Upon Professional Life

The last research question had to do with the marital status of the women involved in the study. The women were not asked directly about how

their marital status influenced their administrative lives as women urban high school principals, but both women did make comments as to their marital status during the data collection phase of the study. Frances related how mobility has effected her career:

> No, not much, and again, because I am single. I have been in Newark City. I have been in Mayfield. I have been in Ralston. I spent a year out in Williamsville. I was out in the Southwest selling log homes. No, in fact, it's been something where you think that sometimes why don't I do this or this. If anything, it has opened up more choices.
>
> I think that when I was coming up in the sixties, you know, as I have said numerous times. Having a younger brother that was five years behind me, my younger brother is an attorney, I mean, I really don't think that my parents purposely did that, you know, it was just naiveté all around. Totally unintentionally, total, because I kid my mom about it now, and the funny thing is, my dad and I all the time, at the kitchen table, sitting around, when you come home your family sat around and talked together. We would literally debate different issues. OK. My brother was always much quieter. I tended to follow with my father. My father was athletic, taught me different things. I was much more similar to my dad in those ways. We would get into debates, about religion, politics, everything and my brother would sit there real quiet and from hearing those debates, my brother decided to go into forensics in high school and hence into law. You know, it's just as interesting, if my dad had

> said to me, 'Maybe you should be an attorney,' or something like that.
>
> I am not married, I don't have children. I truly do not know how somebody that is married and has children does this job. I do not know how they can do this job. It is just, it will literally suck all of your energy and time. I work almost all of my summer. I'm used to traveling in the summers. I took off for two weeks and traveled, but you know, that's not my style at all, and I think that you must get better with this. I mean you have to figure this out somehow, to balance, and you must have to say to yourself at a particular point, that you are going to leave. You are going to leave here.

Louise spoke about her experiences visiting relatives on her husband's side of the family:

> If you're visiting, of course, you feel like the slime of the earth if you're not going to help with the dishes, set the table. The guys go into the living room and sit back after dinner, and the females do the planning and the putting things in the little container in the refrigerator, and then they come and join you and sit and talk, and--all these, the roles--the female and male roles are so clearly defined...Until--that's the only time when I, that's the only time I think, over the last 15 or 20 years, that I've thought about, maybe I should think about this. Maybe there is something to--(laughs). But it,

it passes, by the time I get to work. (Laughs). Really, I mean, I'm back to normal.

Yes, you know, like I look then too and see *Better Homes and Gardens* piled up in the guest bedroom for me and I look through those. My sister-in-law, she's so good at canning and all this stuff, (laughing)...we talk about it. At one time, I did know how to do all of that stuff, real thoroughly, because I'd been brought up by my--well, anyway, I think I did. I can't find meaning in that. It's a constant, over and over and over again, that bothers me. We washed dishes today. Washed dishes morning, noon, night. I calculated once...I could spend, I could use up all my time on earth, practically, just washing dishes and cleaning. I never wanted to do it.

My first marriage, things were real clear for me. That was, all I had to do was just, take care of the house and didn't have to think about anything for the rest of my life; that's that. I've also noticed a freedom--there are many people who will say, regardless of your professional position or income, they still feel if you are married, that your husband is in charge of you, or responsible (chuckles). I'll have people say, 'Is that okay with your husband?' Or, 'Oh, you're married. Is it okay for me to call you?' Or 'I know you're married; is it okay to stop by?' That tells me that there are a lot of people out there--even professional women--who are, I'd say, enslaved.

Louise spoke about her feelings regarding marriage:

> There are just the vows of marriage--to love, honor and obey--could you take the 'obey' out? I could never--no matter who, if I were married to the richest man in the state, I don't think I could ever not be an independent person. I'm--that would be very hard for me to do. To accept gifts from someone, it's very hard for me to do that. My husband is very independent.

I was intrigued. These responses prompted another line of inquiry. When you were single, versus when you were married, how did you feel about the social things that had to do with being an administrator? Did you experience any difference in your sense of belonging, from when you were married and when you were single?

> Okay, when I was single, I wasn't an administrator. I wasn't a teacher. I was a counselor. So I had a career--not a career, but worked as a counselor before teaching. But social outings as an administrator, I tended not to take my husband with me. I didn't feel that I should have to drag him to a function that's there because of my administrative position or work position. It's my profession, certainly, not his. So why should he have to come? Or go along with me? I mean, I certainly wouldn't want to go with him, if his job is having a function. That's your function (chuckles).

I asked, "Did the wives come with male administrators?"

> Yes. I think I did that a couple of times but there's a political reason for all that stuff, too, of course.

> But no, I wasn't going to impose...(chuckles)...'Please come with me to a function tonight. Oh, just sit there. I'll introduce you as my husband.' No, and I didn't want the--there's a lot of responsibility too, that comes goes along with taking your spouse with you to these functions. I didn't want that responsibility. Usually you're afraid you're going to say something. Too...don't expect communication to be the same, from higher-ups. Don't expect to be initially taken seriously. Don't expect to be seen as a true professional. Someone who's mobile, who'll be here today and maybe in Seattle in a year or so. Usually, the thought is that the woman can't move because the husband is 'head of the family.' So, you're sort of stuck where you are unless the husband, your boss (chuckles), tells you can. So, which means that you're subjected to that higher-ups can manipulate you more so because you can't go any place. They have you.

If she had it to do over again, Louise felt:

> I know I wouldn't have gotten married in college (laughs). That's the one thing that I would not do over again. Don't get married; I would never marry while an undergrad. And at that time, having come from a very conservative household. At that time, I thought, you're dating seriously and you're thinking about going beyond the limits. You'd better get married. So, I was very 'the good girl.' You date one guy at a time. You don't go too far, unless you are married. It's a matter--the marriage lasted for one year (breaks out laughing) It was a short one.

> That was hilarious, when I look back on it.
> Married in college.

Future Plans

Frances and Louise were asked what laid in their futures. Frances responded:

> My future career plans, I am fifty three right now I have no other career plans other ending my position as a principal, hopefully here, and it's anywhere from two to five to seven years, depending upon what happens when and wherever. We at Ralston School District can retire at fifty five, but I don't have very many years of service in, so that would be very difficult for me to do that. There is a large early retirement package in ANSC that would kick in for me, but I would have to wait until age sixty to get that, and it's quite a bit more dollars that you would earn from sixty of sixty-five. That's almost like fifty thousand dollars in there, so I don't know. I am not looking in a superintendent's position. I am not looking at a central office position. I would find that totally boring. I want to stay a principal. I like being Assistant Principal, though I don't have any career plans to do that, but if it ever came to that, I would be perfectly fine.

Louise also had something to say regarding her future career plans:

> At this time, the only thing I know is, I would like to work with other people who really want to make a difference in the lives of the children who are excluded. I know I want to do that. Whether it's as a principal, or working outside of public education with the forces that can really impact on education, public education; as a board member...I, eventually--I have been thinking and thinking and thinking about, how can board members, how can I accomplish the goals of my life as a board member, faster? And I thought, no. (Laughs). Not unless there were several other board members who really wanted to, or bought into, really educating children. But, from what I know of board members, after having gone through the district level certification program at the university, I wouldn't do it either. So I think that it's just a task. We're destined to educate a few, and the rest of them probably make the lives of the few miserable. And that's what we do.

The participants is the study related how they felt about their participation now that the study was concluding. Louise felt:

> Um, it's good. I have good feelings about it because it is, it's causing me to think about things that I should be thinking about now. And I really want to see the final report. And I'm just hoping that I'm not saying anything that's going to take me further away from accomplishing my goal. Well, the final straw will be, she's agnostic. Get her out of here.

Frances had something to say about her participation in the study:

> I think that if the study at all would help women to make good positive decisions about administration because there certainly are a lot of talented women out there that could be going into administration, you know, then I think it certainly will be useful.

I was interested in knowing what further research these two women might feel necessary to encourage more women to enter the urban high school principalship: Frances said:

> Well, I certainly think it would be helpful to see what you are finding, because I don't think there is a lot of, I certainly have not seen, read nor looked up studies regarding women in administration. But I think that it behooves the universities to really look at that and to encourage women, because let's face it, there are certainly more women in the field of education and less of them, I think, overall in what I see anyway in terms of administration, especially on the secondary level and especially when we get into the superintendent level. This is crazy. So I think we need to focus on those, on those areas: deans in colleges, presidents in colleges. Let's look at that also. The whole thing in administration is education, and I think we need to look at some serious studies like the one you are doing to find out what's going on and why, and what makes for successful people, and what help we can give those who are coming up.

The next chapter will analyze the data and develop concepts with supporting data. Propositions will be presented which have evolved from the concepts analyzed and supported by data.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This study looked at the stages of pre-selection, selection, advancement and job experience of two female, urban, high school principals. The research questions guided the analysis of the data. A qualitative case study approach to data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1984) as described in Chapter 3 of this study was used during analysis.

Pattern or Theme Coding, Memoing and Concept Building

The data collected from interviews, observations/shadowing, conversations/discussions and journaling were analyzed using pattern codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Pattern codes are inferential codes that suggest an emergent theme or pattern to the researcher as data are being reviewed.

The pattern themes which emerged during the coding process were the themes of role models, role expectations, mentors, gender-based career expectations, promotional opportunities, time demands, and role conflicts. Patterns related to these themes presented themselves during the coding process. Memoing assisted in managing the pattern or theme coding by organizing and categorizing about the relations as they emerged during the coding process. A memo is the theorizing write-up of an idea as it strikes the

analyst while coding (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Memoing tied different pieces of the information together into categories which facilitated general concept development which led to the formulation of propositions.

In addition, data were analyzed using an experience matrix, a time-ordered experience matrix and a case-ordered experience matrix. The matrixes were based on the work of Miles & Huberman (1984). The experience matrix summarized experiences of the women as these experiences emerged from the data during the coding process. This was the first attempt to summarize the experiences of the two women.

In this study, as in most, I was interested in outcomes. These outcomes are more accurately described in the case of this study as *experiences*. An experience matrix displayed one or more experiences which were uncovered and were supported by the evidence presented during the case study. Experiences need not only come from interviews, but from observations and conversations/discussions. The experience matrix was completed using each of the cases in the study.

The experience matrix revealed that the socialization process of these women limited their view of possible career roles for women. It also revealed heightened expectations for women, cultural implications as a factor in career choice, and time demands as a consideration in choosing to become and urban high school principal. The experience matrix showed that marital

status as it relates to childbearing/rearing had a significant affect of the career lives of these women.

The time-ordered experience matrix had its columns arranged by time period, in sequence, so that one can see when particular phenomena occurred. Chronology is the basic principle. The time-ordered experience matrix allowed for a systematic means of comparison of experiences in the order in which the experiences occurred in each case. It also allowed for documentation of what, if anything, resulted from the experience. It was possible to note sequences of experiences across the cases.

The case-ordered experience matrix analyzed data of both cases as the data related to the research questions. The case-ordered experience matrix analyzed the experiences across the cases. This was a summarizing tool for all of the data analysis developed. The instrument included the information gathered across both cases from all sources of evidence and was ordered according to the sequence of the research questions. This matrix related the data uncovered using the experience matrix and the time ordered matrix as it related to the research questions.

Themes

Themes are concepts that evolve from the process of memoing. Memos need to be captioned by basic concept (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Themes are concepts described by phrases. These themes or concepts begin to lead the researcher toward the task of building propositions. The concepts or themes which evolved from this study are presented in the following sections.

Two additional methods of data review used in this study as defined in the methodology were an audit trail and member checks. The audit trail is a trustworthy technique used during a case study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The audit trail in this study included field notes kept on all interviews with the informants, tape recording of interviews with transcriptions, summaries of observations and shadowing, summaries of conversations and discussions, the coding of the transcriptions and writing of references for the codes and finally the development of detailed matrices which have evolved from the data analysis. All of these sources were used in the analysis of data and in the formulation of the propositions in this study.

The member checks included the review of all interview transcripts by the principals and addition of their comments as data for the study. Member checks also included the review of the final manuscript by the principals involved in the study and additions of comments to the discussion chapter of the study. Additional comments made by the principals in this study regarding the interviews, observations/shadowing, and

conversations/discussions became part of the data analyzed and conceptualized in this study (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

Role Models

In the past, women chose educational careers because they lacked other employment role models as they were growing up and during their educational experience (Edson, 1988). Opportunities were often limited in the minds of women because of what they saw modeled in their environment. Research has found that same sex role models are crucial for women (Shakeshaft, 1989).

In reviewing the experience matrix and the time-ordered matrix, one can see that both of these women's career choices were influenced by their socialization process while growing up. Frances was influenced by the limited role models available to her as a child.

> My brother is an attorney. My father was one of ten so I have a lot of cousins. I am the oldest of all. I didn't have any other role models or cousins who had gone to college. I was the first one to go, and like I said, at that time, it was a matter of focusing on some kind of social service area, and teaching was what women went into (Interview, 1/11/96).

> I had always liked science and, well, somewhere I had heard that term and I thought 'gee, that's sounds good.' When you don't have a lot of role

> models in your family and people who have done different things, your exposure to careers is very narrow and when I graduated from high school in the 1960s, most women were going on to college to become teachers and nurses or something in the human services area (Interview, 2/9/96).

Louise was influenced by the implications of being raised in a cultural setting which emphasized giving back to the community.

> My dedication to the field of education is due, in some respect to my feelings of responsibility to my heritage. I think a feeling of commitment to give back to people in the African American community was something that was ingrained in me as a child. (Interview, 2/14/96).

> As Louise, the artist and I walked through the halls, the artist asked Louise how she liked her job. Louise responded with, 'I love it! This place gives me a chance to fulfill what is my mission.' There was no hesitation in her response. (Observation, 2/1/96).

> The point of schooling is to take children from where they are to some other place, better. Better, I mean, for the quality of life for them. Everyone knows that this is what we're doing; we are preparing to be leaders, in my class. So, I'm accustomed to fighting for my point of view. It's a calling; it's not just a job. When you decide to be in front of children, to be an educator, that is a great responsibility. But you have to stand up for what you believe is right (Interview, 2/14/96).

The Experience Matrix (Appendix C) shows that the idea of limited socialization promoted a limited view of career roles for women in the case of Frances. The matrix also showed that Louise felt cultural pressure to give back to the community. The Time-ordered Matrix (Appendix D) and the Case-ordered matrix (Appendix E) indicated that limited career models and cultural expectations where factors in the career choices of these women.

Gender influenced role models for young women and the cultural expectations for women. Therefore, the career choices for these two women were in some manner a result of gender related role models and cultural patterns. Louise also left the security of a position as an assistant principal in a suburban district to move into an urban school district where she was able to contribute to her minority community.

Mentors

Unlike role models, which generally must be of the same sex in order for women to identify with them, mentors may be either male or female (Shakeshaft, 1989). A mentor is much more important to the individual woman than is a role model because the mentor advises, supports, and helps promote her (Shakeshaft, 1989). The mentor assists the mentee in adjusting to the demands of an administrative position. The mentor can expedite career advancement by advising as to ways to handle situations and additional

experiences to pursue. The mentor is an excellent reference when seeking administrative promotions.

It was brought to light during the coding, memoing, and completion of the matrixes that these women were encouraged by those they worked with to pursue positions as assistant principals. These women had mentors. Both were encouraged by superiors, sometimes male and sometimes female, to move from their teaching positions to administrative positions.

Frances

> I was approached when I was still teaching. I was approached by a female who was an assistant principal at the school where I was a teacher and she encouraged me to become a guidance counselor. She said that they needed another guidance counselor and I said, 'I don't have a degree in that.' I had a masters in biology and had taken one counseling class at Rockford while I was getting my Master's. She said, 'You have a great rapport with kids. I really think you will make a dynamite counselor, and you are the person we want.' She had to do some fighting for that because there were two people that were on the faculty who already had degrees but she put me in that position. She was very encouraging during that whole process.... she continued to encouraged me in that she wanted me to stay at that particular school and assume the assistant principal position in terms of programming (Interview 1/11/96).

Louise

> I did receive encouragement from male administrators who had supervised me. I look back and I think that, I feel I did an excellent job as a teacher but I think that they thought, 'Ha! Who is this woman who never sends children to the office? Maybe she would do a good job at administration or in administration.' So, I had an opportunity to substitute, from time to time, as an assistant principal. I was encouraged by the principal to go into administration and I had already started taking courses in administration after a couple of years in teaching (Interview 2/14/96).

> Because, I'm a fighter. When you are doing what you feel strongly about, you just have to keep going. That's stayed with me. I've always done that. I recall when I was preparing to be a Spanish teacher, the supervising teacher, she said, you know, you're going to be an outstanding teacher (Observation 2/1/96).

Both of the women in this study were encouraged to pursue careers as assistant principals. It would seem logical that the next step in their career would be to pursue a principalship. These two women were encouraged to enter administration and pursue a secondary administrative career.

Gender-based Expectations

Expectations of performance and life-style are, in many ways in our culture and society, based upon gender (Walsh & Osipow, 1994). Women are expected to be wives and mothers. These expectations influence the

career choices for women. Women are often held to higher performance standard than men in the same position (Marshall, 1984).

The women in this study indicated that expectation based upon gender influenced their careers. Analysis of the data indicated that Louise experience heightened expectation in her job at the newspaper in her early years. She interpreted this as resulting from her race.

> The supervisor would tell people, who would tell me, 'you know,' he would say, 'she won't last two weeks because I will make sure of that.' So he would give me twice the accounts to work on and I would take them home and work on them until eleven or twelve. Plus, I had my school work. Plus he would make remarks like, 'when are your ever going to get out of college, twenty years from now?' (Interview 2/14/96).

It is not indicated by the data collected whether this was also due, in some part, because she was a woman though the literature review indicated that this is sometimes a problem for women (Edson, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989) as does the career literature for women in general (Walsh & Osipow, 1994).

Louise was the only principal replaced in the district during the restructuring of six of the districts schools which took place at all three levels: high school, middle school, and elementary school.

> This was the result of a decision that was made by the district's school board the night before. The school board felt students in several district schools

to child care expectancies. Career literature indicates that sexual harassment and racial discrimination were common place prior to the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990's (Walsh & Osipow, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1993; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, in press). Current career literature suggests that progress has been made but that problems still exist (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, in press). In the face of such data, assertions that vocational success is solely a function of the ability/ requirement match are difficult to maintain (Walsh & Osipow, 1994).

The fourth proposition of this study is that the issue of time demands greatly affects the professional lives of these two women. Time was clearly an issue for these two women.

Issues of time are not unfamiliar in the literature. It is pointed out by Shakeshaft (1989) that the time of women administrator are often used differently than men. Women tend to spend more time interacting with teachers, students, and parents than men. Male principals seem to spend more time on the management tasks of administration than do women.

Time demands of the principalship were issues in the personal life style of both these women as it related to marriage and child bearing/rearing. Neither of these women had traditional family situations. One was single and the other had a husband who stayed home and cared for their child.

These women experienced their lives differently from men because of their gender. That is the fifth and last proposition of the study. Both women related incidents of differential treatment because they are women. Gender influenced interaction with staff, supervision of staff as well as interactions at meetings.

Gender influenced their decisions about careers and family life styles. Their gender was an factor in the treatment they experienced throughout their careers as well as and indicator in expectations of their behaviors.

Perhaps the propositions in this study can be summarized by a journal entry made by me. Journal entry fifteen states:

> The thread of "time" is clear. The idea of limited options growing up is clear. These are not new ideas but ideas that reinforce what the career literature already tells us. The idea that a typical married woman in our culture could not maintain this job is beginning to become clear as is the limited voice of women at meetings with male colleagues (Journal Entry 15).

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter links the research questions to the data. This chapter also provides a connection of the research questions to the literature review and the theoretical basis for the study as outlined in chapters one through three. Discussion of indication of further research is presented in this chapter.

The Research Questions

The first research question asked was how women urban high school principals experience their entry into their positions as principals. The data indicates that both women were influenced through encouragement from other individuals who were both male and female. This in not exemplary of the literature in business which indicates that women are discouraged from pursuing careers in administration (Houseknecht & Spanier, 1980). Encouragement of these female administrators, however, was a factor in their decision to pursue administrative careers. This is not consistent with the literature in the business world which indicates that most women are discouraged from entering the ranks that would penetrate the "glass ceiling." This shows that women have made positive gains into entry into the field of administrative leadership.

Research question two dealt with the way these two women experienced their professional lives. There were examples in this study of how gender influenced the experiences of the women urban principals studied including relationships with staff, interactions during meetings, and impressions of staff as to reasons for supervision. These tell us that, as a field, we still have progress to make in creating an environment that is conducive to making women feel respected as urban high school principals. If one goes back to the previous chapter, one can identify the experiences of these two women urban high school principals as being influenced by their gender.

Current literature notes the leadership styles of women (Shakeshaft, 1989; Marshall, 1993). The two women in this study were very different women. Frances was self-confident and out-spoken and dealt very directly with people. Louise was deliberate and soft-spoken and, yet, dealt directly with people. Their personalities were very different but their leadership styles were very similar. They were both good listeners and used their background experience in counseling to their advantage. Both dealt directly with people, used verbal praise, and were strong and deliberate in their decision making.

The third question asked if gender influenced their experience as administrators. Data revealed in chapter four shows that gender does

influence their professional lives and experiences as administrators. These women experienced relationships with superiors, collegues, and staff with the construct of gender as being an influence. Experiences with promotion for Frances were related to gender. Experiences for both women with staff including professional meetings and supervision, were also influenced by the fact that these administrators were women.

The literature shows that women spend more time in supervisory tasks in administrative positions while males spend more time in managerial tasks (Shakeshaft, 1989). This is a positive note for women who enter the secondary principalship at a time when instructional leadership is considered such an important part of the principalship.

The final research question asked whether the marital status of Frances and Louise influenced their experiences as administrators. The final and perhaps most interesting proposition resulting from this study is the one that women urban high school principals would not be able to function as urban high school principals if they were women in marriage situations in which they would be expected to assume primary responsibilities for the home and children.

What does one mean by "traditional marriage situation?" I think it is valid to say that the traditional marriage situation is one in which the man provides for the economic needs of the family while the woman or "wife"

maintains the home environment and may economically assist after the children are in a school situation. The current career literature indicates that women who have outside responsibilities as wives and mothers are at a great disadvantage in the working world (Walsh & Osipow, 1995). The woman's career is often postponed until after the children are school age.

The researcher is aware that the traditional roles for women are changing but the expectations for the women in this study are related to a time when roles were very clearly defined for women. It is within these parameters that the women in this study experienced their pre-selection, selection, advancement, and job experience as two female urban high school principals (Figure 1).

Figure 1 pictures the positive and negative influences of gender on the lives of the two women studied as they proceeded through the stages of initial choice of a career, entry into that career, aspirations into the field of administration, and career experiences and advancement. The figure shows how these women's careers were influenced by gender issues throughout their lives.

The figure indicates that gender expectations and cultural responsibilities influenced initial entry choice, the "old boys'" network, marital status, female role models, and child care responsibilities influenced career entry, role expectations and role models, time issues, and mentor

encouragement influence their administrative aspirations, and marital status, mentors, gender expectations, and different performance expectations influenced career experience and advancement.

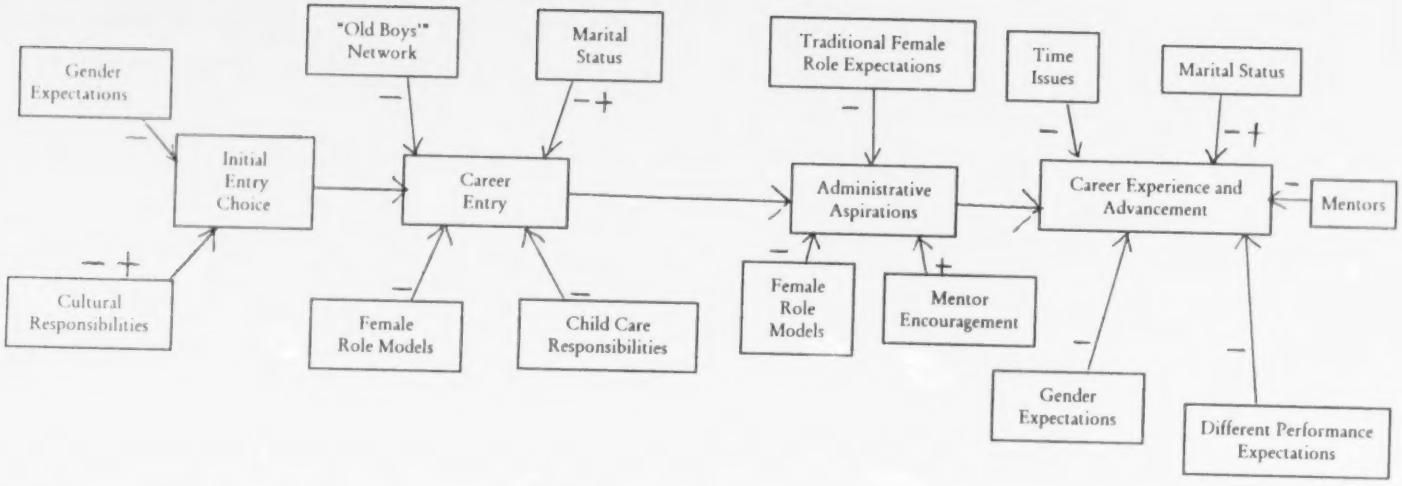

Figure 1. Career Demands of Women Entering High School Principalship.

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It is necessary to consider the information related in this study to the way in which women are expected to perform in both a personal and professional manner in the urban high school principalship. When the responsibilities of the traditional woman are considered, the ability of a woman to cope with the responsibilities and time demands of the urban high school principalship are influenced.

Roles and perspectives are changing, but most of the women who are in positions to acquire an urban high school principalship were inculturated at a time when the traditional family as outlined in this study was the dominate model or they may be supervised/evaluated by others who hold more traditional views of their roles as women and administrators. This proposed fact is supported by the data from this study.

The school is a social system. Figure 2 pictures the major elements of a social system. The organization of the school is influenced by structural and individual elements as well as by cultural and political elements (Hoy and Miskel, 1996). The cultural and political elements of the school as a social system are based in a society with the traditional views of family and role expectations for women.

> were not achieving and that a solution would be to bring a whole new teaching staff into each of the targeted schools. Louise has been told that there would be interviews by two principals, herself and an interim principal being brought in to determine the re-staffing of the building. Louise was told by the superintendent that she would finish out the school year at Robers (Observation, 2/1/96).

> She took my hand and said they had reassigned her to James Middle School as of that day. That was why she was not at the high school principals' meeting. The district had instructed her to attend the middle school meetings (Observation, 2/6/96).

The other five principals were left in place in their schools to implement the restructuring process. Of the other six principals whose positions were involved in the restructuring, Louise was one of two females involved. Louise was the only high school principal of four high school principals involved in the restructuring who was a woman and the only principal removed mid-year. All of the male principals had a minimum of three years experience in their positions. This leaves open the possibility that the decision to remove Louise as principal and retain the three other high school principals was, in some way, related to gender.

> At that school, I kept harping at all my administrative team meetings. They probably thought, this is just a female from the suburbs, who's accustomed to all these geniuses, that she sees a 1.6 grade point average, she goes ballistic. What is the big deal? This school has never risen

> above a 1.6, you know, since 1981. This is what we do, this is how we do it--keep the kids out of the hall--but interesting enough, the thing that really bothered me, is that the thought wasn't: keep the children out of the hall so they can be in the class learning but rather, keep them out of the hall because we must protect our safety, we must be safe. The first business here is our safety. And of course everyone wants to be safe. No one wants to be treated inappropriately physically by children. You know, but that's the thought. And perhaps my being a female, contributed to the notion that, that I'm not going to carry a big stick and beat the kids with a baseball bat (Interview, 2/14/96).

Louise chose to take action rather than accepting the situation. She spoke in front of the school board and the community as to what had been done to her by the district.

> The content of the speech was a statement that I did not think I should have been pulled out of Robers High School in the first place. There had been failure on the part of Central Services to communicate with me. I mentioned that the school had a GPA of 1.6 since 1980 and also that the superintendent had been at the school and while he was there the performance had gone down and no one yanked him out. I also mentioned that during the period that I was there the GPA did go up. To hire someone in August and say you are outstanding, the parents want you, the teachers want you and then yank you out five months later with no explanation is not logical (Interview, 7/2/96).

When parents called Central Services and asked why Louise had been removed they were told Louise had requested to leave and it had nothing to do with her performance. All of these things are not logical.

> I told them I would like to have a hearing to find out why. I just wanted to know why. I wanted to come to the district to work with urban students and I had been encouraged to do that. I had worked in a suburb for eight years and enjoyed it. I had been encouraged by this district to come here and now after five months I am yanked out of the school for no reason (Interview, 7/2/96).

Louise said it was clear to her that at least three school board members did not understand what had happened.

> It was clear by the looks on their faces that they were a bit perplexed too. One school board member caught me in the hallway after the meeting and assured me they were going to look into this matter (Interview, 7/2/96).

Louise felt the thing that frustrated her the most was that the superintendant hired her and she had no communication with him since the hiring except to be told by his assistant that the list of needs for Robers High School that she had submitted to Central Services that it could not be done. He had communicated to her that she was being removed from the school in

a thirty second conversation. The superintendent had told her it was his decision and he did not have to give any reasons.

> I thought, my goodness, what has happened here. Did I do something while I was sleep walking? Did I insult a family member? What happened here? What is going on? (Interview, 7/2/96).

Louise contacted an attorney who sent a letter to the school board requesting a hearing. One week after school ended, Louise received a phone call asking her to come into Central Services to discuss her reassignment within the district for the next year. It is not clear whether the district would not have reversed the decision if Louise had not retained an attorney. She stood her ground and insisted that she be reassigned as a principal.

> I told them that I had been an assistant principal for a decade and I was not interested in doing that. I told them I was not interested in a full time teaching position although I am not opposed to teaching. I told them what I would be interested in was a high school principalship. I came to the district as a high school principal and that was what I wanted to do (Interview, 7/2/96).

Louise continues to be uncertain about her future for the next school year. When I last spoke to her she related that she was concerned about it but that things seemed to be improving.

> I have not heard anything since that meeting. I did go the board meeting the next week where I was reinstated. They did not make an issue of it. My name never came up. Several board members did go out of their way to say hello.
>
> People are starting to make eye contact with me again. It is amazing how people behave around a person whom they consider a "looser." After a while they start to avoid you. After the speech, maybe three or for did contact me to give me their support. I did not threaten the board with legal action. I asked for a hearing. Knowing "why" would truly help me as I pursued other employment (Interview, 7/2/96).

We will never know for sure if the fact that Louise was a female was a consideration in her being removed as a high school principal after only five months in the position. The possibility exists that it may have been a factor even if the superintendent was not consciously aware of the influence Louise's gender had on his decision.

Frances related some perspectives on the issue of gender.

> It was very encouraging to me, when I first came to Ralston, that there was one female as a principal in a high school. There were many in elementary, but what that typifies is that women are very capable of taking care of young children, but don't put them in high school. We need a strong male image, coach, you know, jock. That has turned around, as you saw at the meeting that we were at, the principal's

> meeting, much of that is due to the former superintendent's influence (Interview, 1/11/96).
>
> This year especially, because I have taken on some hard issues. I have about three court cases. You get into those kinds of things. I have had two people claim sex discrimination because they are older white men who had been taken to task on some things (Interview 2/9/96).

The experiences of Louise are similar to the experiences of Frances in terms of the influence of gender on their administrative lives:

> Females are not supposed to hear rude words. And you wouldn't call a female if there's a fight. But interestingly enough, female teachers are so conditioned to think that when there's something physical, they need a man. 'Where's a man--I've heard that over and over. Where's a man? Where's a man? There's a fight. We need a man.' I think that we bring our social situation and orientation and philosophy, into the schools with us. And we've not grown, then, as far yet. Why in the world would I aspire to become an administrator if I thought that females shouldn't break up fights? What is it, legally, that a male can do, that a female can't do? (Interview, 2/14/96).

Frances experienced being passed over in promotion situations because of her gender.

> There were probably about eight of these positions, and there was one female. I was encouraged by

> the associate superintendent of schools, who was male, to apply for the position. I applied. So did other females. The position was given to an older white male, who, I felt, was just a typical part of the 'boys club.' It was kind of routine. I was extremely upset by that because I felt that they were continuing the status quo (Interview, 2/9/96).

Louise experienced certain expectation of dress because of her gender.

> 'Girl', they called it back then. Actually they had a woman there whose job it was to walk around to make sure that the 'girls' were dressed appropriately, of course. Amazing ! There were no pants. You could not wear slacks unless it was part of a coordinating outfit. If you would show up in just slacks and a top or something, you would be sent home (Interview, 1/17/96).

They also experienced expectations relative to childraising and marriage responsibilities because of their gender.

> I just remember when I was called by the male principal to tell me I didn't get the assistant principal job. The only thing he said about my interview was that it came up that I was a single parent and there were concerns in an emergency where my loyalties would lie, with the school or my child. I was devastated. I bit my lip so hard that it bled. I didn't want to say what I was thinking to him. I was thinking that if that conversation hadn't come up in the discussion about the male candidates, how could he allow that to be discussed about me? (Journal Entry 5).

> My first marriage, things were real clear for me. That was, all I had to do was just, take care of the house and didn't have to think about anything for the rest of my life; that's that. I've also noticed a freedom--there are many people who will say, regardless of your professional position or income, they still feel if you are married, that your husband is in charge of you, or responsible (chuckles). I'll have people say, 'Is that okay with your husband?' Or, 'Oh, you're married. Is it okay for me to call you?' Or 'I know you're married; is it okay to stop by?' That tells me that there are a lot of people out there--even professional women--who are, I'd say, enslave (Interview, 2/14/96).

> Too...don't expect communication to be the same, from higher-ups. Don't expect to be initially taken seriously. Don't expect to be seen as a true professional. Someone who's mobile, who'll be here today and maybe in Seattle in a year or so. Usually, the thought is that the woman can't move because the husband is 'head of the family.' So, you're sort of stuck where you are unless the husband, your boss (chuckles), tells you can. So, which means that you're subjected to that higher-ups can manipulate you more so because you can't go any place. They have you (Interview 2/14/96).

The data collected during this study showed that men dominated the meeting situations during central office principal meetings. Frances was observed by me at a districtwide meeting of the high school principals. An

excerpt of the notes taken indicates that there are still difficulties for women asserting themselves in a meeting situation with males.

> I observed three administrative meetings. It was clear that the men dominate the discussion. The only 'put down' in the discussion was a man's response to a comment a woman had made. That woman did not speak again during the meeting. The men sat together and the women sat together and the interaction and conversation took place at the men's end of the table. The women and men sat in groups during the all-grade level principal's meeting also (Observation, 2/6/96).

These are all expectations and predetermined behavior expectations because of gender-because they are women.

Promotional Opportunities

In many studies, the reasons given for not promoting women have to do with the fact that they were female (Shakeshaft, 1989). The data in this study revealed that Frances left the field of education after being passed over for an administration position in the recreation department for a more traditional white male administrator.

> When I went into the recreation program and I was a supervisor in charge of this recreation program for senior citizens, the next step up was the coordinator's position. Recreation programming is extremely male dominated and, at that time, had all males in top position above supervisor which would be the next level up. There were probably about eight of these positions, and there was one female. I was encouraged by the associate superintendent of schools, who was male, to apply for the position. I applied. So did other females. The position was given to an older white male, who, I felt, was just a typical part of the 'boys club.' It was kind of routine. I was extremely upset by that because I felt that they were continuing the status quo. When I raised an objection, I was told that person scored the highest on the interview. So, I went to the equal rights person. I asked her if she could find out how, in fact, people scored. Ultimately it didn't even matter. Sandra could not find out anything. She pretty much, at that time, told me it that this is a hopeless thing to follow (Interview, 2/9/96).

Frances concluded as many women conclude that:

> If I really wanted a career in recreational administration, I wasn't going to get anywhere voicing concerns or whatever in terms of having females in higher positions. I did voice the concern to the then associate superintendent of schools and a year later I left, because I had it, working with senior citizens, and I needed a change. I felt at that point that this is not going anywhere and it was not going to go anywhere and that was obvious from

> his choice of, you know, to put that person in that position, and I just saw the handwriting on the wall. It is very, very discouraging, So, that incident did happen to turn me off on that, but then you see that in business all the time, with the glass ceilings and it's just a matter of, I think, of women staying out there networking and, you know, doing what they have to do to make things happen (Interview, 2/9/96).

It is possible that this is one of the reasons that some women leave administration after entering the field (Tallerico, Poole, & Burnsyn, 1994).

Louise tells us that performance standards were escalated during her pre-education employment experience because she was a black woman.

> I was promoted to a bookkeeper position at the newspaper with the pre-paid accounts department. Big hoopla around the building. A manager, I won't mention his name because he is still probably there, the nicest little guy, he had gone around and told everyone that he had never had any black folks--he didn't use the words 'black folks'--I hate to mention people's shortcomings, but it is significant here. He had told people on the floor that he had never had any 'black folks' in his department and he wasn't going to start now (Interview, 1/17/96).

> The supervisor would tell people, who would tell me, 'you know,' he would say, 'she won't last two weeks because I will make sure of that.' So he would give me twice the accounts to work on and I

> would take them home and work on them until eleven or twelve (Interview, 1/17/96).

The researcher remembers having to be "better" than any other of the department chairs. She was expected to do all the scheduling of classes and students whereas the other department chairs simply made recommendations. These findings are consistent with the career literature which indicates that women, particularly minority women, are held to a higher standard (Walsh & Osipow, 1995).

Time Demands

The position of high school principal is a very demanding position. There are multiple responsibilities and many demands on the principals time both during and after the school day. Data analysis revealed the concept of time demands of the principalship as being an important factor in the lives of both women. Frances seriously considered the time demands of the high school principalship before agreeing to take the position.

> I felt that this was a very difficult decision for me--to decide did I even want to apply for this position because I had seen that the job, principal of a high school can be an all consuming job. You could spend 18 hours a day doing this job and never get it all done. You are always behind. There are so many things especially if you are trying to be an instructional leader. If you are going to manage, just manage, you can do that, but if you are trying

> to really do innovative kinds of things, it just takes time and that was a real question mark (Interview, 2/9/96).

Time issues were definitely shown by my journal notes which indicate that time was the major issue of concern in agreeing to participate in the study. Even though both women indicated that they felt the study was significant and wanted to participate, the journal notes show that the time necessary for the interviewing was of great concern and had to be renegotiated after the women had committed to doing the study.

> She was more concerned about the time which is understandable. Its a difficult job. It is all consuming. She mentioned that as one of her considerations when she had to decide whether to take the job. She said you can work at it 18 hours a day and still not get everything done that needs doing (Journal Entry 1).

Both women indicated to me that the time demands of interviews would be difficult for them during that data collection phase of the study as is evident in my journal entries.

> I had my first interview with Frances. She had reservations about the time involved in completing the interview component of the study (Journal Entry 2).

> I had my first interview with Louise. I like her. She is very well spoken, calm, funny and nice. She

> was also concerned about the interview time (Journal Entry 4).

It was clear during the observations/shadowing of Frances, that much of her time was spend interacting with staff.

> A teacher stopped in regarding the inscription on a plaque and luncheon arrangements. The discussion took about five minutes and Frances then called an assistant principal over the walkie-talkie to join them for a discussion regarding programming. Frances moved from behind her desk to the table so the three could sit together and talk. Frances leaned on her hands and listened to the teacher. The assistant principals arrived and said to Frances, "Excuse me but I have already done a hundred things today." The assistant seemed very stressed. Frances moved her hands when she talks in graceful, easy motions. The three talked about personnel issues within the counseling department for about ten minutes and the teacher left. Frances asked the assistant to stay behind and discuss the security peoples' positioning in the building. The conversation took about ten minutes. Frances walked to the outer office and told the secretary to have the student who had been waiting for her when I arrived come in. The assistant came back in and said there was an emergency phone call that Frances needed to take which she did. Then the assistant left and Frances sat back down at the table with the student. Frances took about twenty minutes with the student on an issue he had regarding his relationship with one of the teachers (Observation, 1/25/96).

My journal entry seventeen relates an observation.

> I told my major professor about the great interview with Frances and she asked how Louise was doing now that she had been moved by the district. She asked how long Louise had been at the previous high school and I told her four months. We agreed that Louise did not have time to change anything. Whatever the reasons were for the school having trouble, they were at the school before Louise can in September. I saw Louise at the University today. She seemed unsure of herself (Journal Entry 12).

Family responsibilities were also a factor in the time issue. Frances related:

> I am not married, I don't have children. I truly do not know how somebody that is married and has children does this job. I do not know how they can do this job. It is just, it will literally suck all of your energy and time (Interview, 2/9/96).

In a conversation that I had with Louise while we were walking through the halls during the breaks between classes, she related:

> She had her superintendent's license and was glad she had started the Ph. D. program in administrative leadership five years earlier. She said she could never handle the job if her husband did not stay home with their young son (she has an older child who is twenty-four). She said she could

> not have maintained the assistant principalship she had prior to the principalship if her husband did not stay home (Observation, 2/1/96).

Role Conflicts

The career of a woman high school principal does not occur in a vacuum. Researchers have been increasingly aware that a career occurs in the context of other life roles (Walsh & Osipow, 1994). The women in this study were no exception.

The final concept uncovered during the data analysis process was that of role conflicts and the influence of marital status. Frances indicated during an interview that she did not believe she could handle the demands of the high school principalship if she was married and had children.

> I am not married, I don't have children. I truly do not know how somebody that is married and has children does this job. I do not know how they can do this job. It is just, it will literally suck all of your energy and time (Interview, 2/9/96).

Louise indicated to me during a conversation in the hallway that she could not handle the demands of the principalship if her husband did not stay home with their young son.

> As we walked together through the hallways, as was her custom during the breaks between classes, Louise commented that she had her

> superintendent's license and was glad she had started the Ph. D. program in administrative leadership five years earlier. She said she could never handle the job if her husband did not stay home with their young son (she has an older child who is twenty-four). She said she could not have maintained the assistant principalship she had prior to the principalship if her husband did not stay home (Observation, 2/1/96).

It would seem that the data analysis conveys that a women in a traditional high school principalship would have a difficult time meeting the demands of the position if she was married and/or had children.

Propositions

The next step in the data analysis was to formalize the information into propositions. Generating connected sets of statements and reflections about those sets of statements was the process of developing propositions (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The following sections discuss the propositions as formulated during this study.

As the study proceeds, the usual need is to formalize the researchers thinking into a coherent set of explanations. One way to do that involves generating propositions or connected sets of statements reflecting the findings and conclusions of the study (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

The data provided indicated that the entrance into education of these principals was entwined with their identify as females. That is the first proposition of this study. Both were limited by their environments as to their awareness of job opportunities available. Part of this limitation was due to the fact that they were female children rather than a male children. This is the first proposition elicited from the data. These data are exemplary of data related in a study by Eccles (1987) which indicated that female children are often limited by the role models that they are raised with in the home environment. Eccles (1987), in her model of the relationship of gender role models for young women, may have its most serious effect in reducing their "perceived field of options" (Eccles, 1987, pp. 141-142). A reduced field of options will most certainly affect career choice. A substantial number of women also describe themselves as using gender and race attributes when indicating their perceptions of connection to the world (Limerick & Lingard, 1995).

After some probing by the interviewer, Louise indicated that her dedication to the field of education was due, in some respect to her feelings of responsibility to her heritage as an African American woman. That is the second proposition of this study. Louise felt that the commitment to give back to people in the African American community was something that was ingrained in her as a child and something that she had grown to feel as a

responsibility to carry out over her years of working with African American children in both urban and suburban settings.

There was a feeling of responsibility to give back to the African American community. Louise felt that she was able to "give back" through her work with students in the public school systems particularly the urban publjc school systems.

This need to "give back" to her cultural community is consistent with research literature on minority issues which indicate that race, culture, and ethnicity are functions of each and every one of us whether we are African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, Latino Americans or White Americans (Wing Sue, 1993). Racial identity assumptions underlying one's work have implications for the decisions one makes at virtually every choice point in one's professional life (Helms, 1993).

Helms (1993) has recommended that racial identity be viewed as levels of racial complexity within the individual and that these levels of identity influence the choices made in one's life. This was illustrated by Louise's decision to go into education and in her later decisions to move into an urban district from a suburban district where contact with minorities was limited.

A third proposition of this study is that women feel they are passed over for promotion by males who favor the traditional male administrator. The experience matrix, the time-ordered matrix, and the case-ordered matrix

all showed that Frances felt she had been passed over for promotion because of her gender and that Louise felt expectations were heightened for her because of her race. Frances relates that she was very discouraged by the promotion of a white male over more qualified women for advancement in the administrative field.

What Frances experienced in this situation is consistent with the research of Walsh & Osipow (1995) which indicated that many women feel that they are passed over because of the "good old boy" system in the business world. Research in the career literature indicates that women are routinely passed over for promotion is situations where men are doing the promoting and where there is competition from men (Walsh & Osipow, 1994).

Louise talks about differential treatment by a white male supervisor as a reason for making promotion opportunities within a position more difficult. I noted the fact that I had a child was considered in interviewer discussions regarding my qualifications for an administrative position. This, however, was not a part of the discussion of male candidates, as was indicated to me by the principal doing the hiring. The first is an instance of differential treatment due to race. The second is an instance of differential treatment do

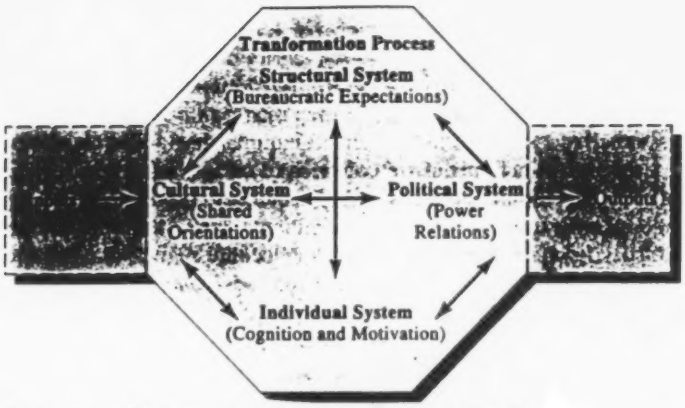

Figure 2 Internal Elements of a Systen

Source: Adapted from Wayne K. Hoy and Cecil G. Miskel, *Educational administration: Theory, research, and practice*. McGraw-Hill: New York (1996).

Hoy and Miskel (1988) discuss sources of conflict in organizations. They suggest that a number of potential conflicts exist in any organization. They suggest conflicts may exist between roles and personality, personality and norms and norms and roles. Role-norm conflict calls attention to possible tensions between the expectations of the formal organizations and the need of the individual as determined by cultural norms. Figure 3 gives a pictorial portrayal of such possible conflicts. These conflicts can be considered in looking at the conflict experienced by the women in this study. The community in which we live also holds expectations for women based on gender. Women are expected to assume certain roles in the community which may conflict with the career aspirations of women. Women are often expected by the community to assume the role of wife and mother. The

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women in this study indicated that their career aspirations conflicted with the traditional role that women may be expected to assume. The following figure represents the possibility of roles creating conflict with the values established by the community.

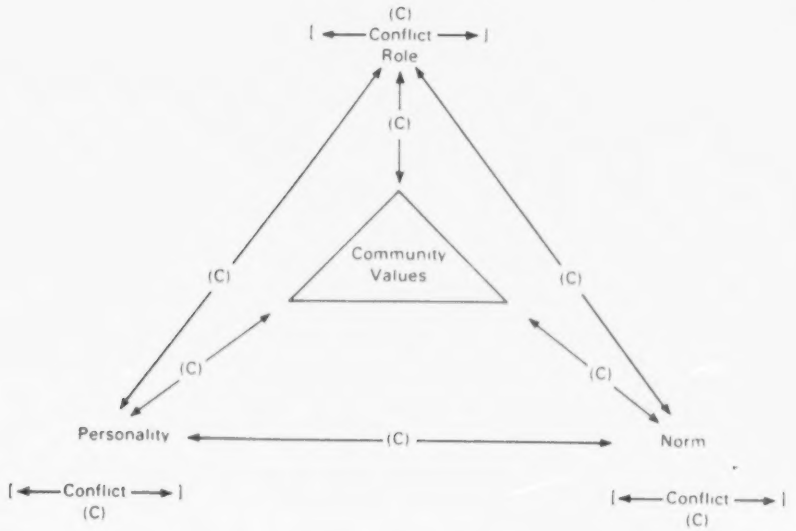

Figure 3 Sources of Organizational Conflict

Source: Adapted from Wayne K. Hoy and Cecil G. Miskel, *Educational administration: Theory, research, and practice*. Random House: New York (1988).

Certainly women high school principals in a traditional marriage situation experience role-norm conflicts in relation to their job-home expectations. Time was a particular issue for the women in this study. The demands of the job and the demands of cultural expectations in a traditional

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marriage situation could come into conflict creating competing demands for the time of the woman high school principal.

The researcher presented the propositions related to the research questions to both Frances and Louise. Both agreed with the discussion and conclusion chapter of this manuscript. Louise felt:

> Things are not going forward. To be generous, I would say things are at a standstill. In a more cynical response, I would say things are going backwards. Are you compensated enough to hire someone to do the laundry and the cooking. It is not so much the actual duties but keeping a running calendar and constantly thinking about all these other things you have to do in addition to your professional responsibilities. Even if you don't have to do them, it is thinking about who is going to do them. How are they going to be done. I really do not believe that male administrators have that kind of stuff on their mind, bogging them down. Traditionally, who is going to take care of the laundry? Who is going to make sure the children have clean clothes? (Interview, 4/18/96).

It is necessary to look at the institutional expectation of the role of the high school principalship and ask if it possible for women with family commitments to successfully carry out the urban principalship as it is structured in our present institutions. Perhaps a restructuring of the position of high school principal is necessary in order to attract the larger pool of

women who are capable of leading our high schools yet have family responsibilities.

Findings as Related to the Literature Review

It is important to discuss the findings of this study in relationship to the literature review as presented in Chapter 2 of this study. This discussion follows in the next few paragraphs. It is hoped that I have clearly related the data from this study and the propositions formulated to the literature review as presented.

The idea presented in the literature review of materials published in the 1970s states that "Women are underrepresented in public school administration not because they are unable to administer. What screens out women and prevents them from moving from teaching to public school administration is a process of differentiation based on sex" (Neidermayer and Kramer, 1974). This concept does not seem to be completely true for the women in this study. Both women were encouraged to pursue administrative careers and did achieve administrative careers. The influence of career advancement was influenced in the case of Frances by being passed over for a white male from the traditional "club." This proposition relates back to the literature of the 1980s indicating that sex discrimination and preferential

hiring and promotion significantly affected the careers of women and is also supported by the career literature in general (Walsh & Osipow, 1994).

The *glass ceiling* was also mentioned by Frances. In a study mandated by the state's governor in which the study took place, 93% of the respondents surveyed answered *yes* when asked if there is still a *glass ceiling* for women in advancement to higher positions within institutions (Report on the Governor's Task Force on the Glass Ceiling Initiative, 1993).

A study completed in the 1990s looked at the marital status of women (Gosman, 1993). The paradox may be that entry is based upon marital status yet, performance and retention and advancement are also influenced by marital status in a reverse manner. Gosman's study found that married women were valued as being more stable than single women in non-traditional fields. Yet, once appointed to an administrative position, this presumed "good" becomes a source of conflict and tension in fulfilling the expectations of the role. Socialized stereotyping of traditional gender roles and the associated attitudes of both males and females are underlining factors in attitudes toward women (Cohen, 1991). This is directly supportive of the idea that women cannot compete in and fulfill the demand expectations of the urban high school principalship unless they have a non-traditional marital situation.

Findings as Related to the Theoretical Basis of the Study

The theoretical basis for this study was feminist theory centering on the three strands of feminist theory proposed by Marshall and Anderson (1995). These three strands included liberal feminism, difference feminism, and power and politics feminism as defined in the introduction to this study.

Traditional research has ignored the female experience and the influence of gender on the structures of organizational, leadership and political theory until the decade of the 1980s. Analyses of earlier studies indicate that they are based on a white male perspective and world view (Shakeshaft & Hanson, 1986). For example, some of the theories cited most often in educational administration and management texts -- social systems models, two-factor leadership behavior models, organizational climate research, situation leadership research and motivational research -- are based on research studies focusing on white male administrators (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984).

Feminist critique of traditional administrative theory is sometimes referred to as *feminist theory*. Considering the years of research and theory development in administrative theory, feminist theory is in the early stages of development. According to Marshall and Anderson (1995), the strand of feminist theory emphasizes the barriers to access and choice by females. This is referred to as *liberal feminism*. The second strand which

emphasizes and values women's perspective is called *difference feminism*. The last strand is *power and politics feminism* which identifies institutional purposes, economic purposes and the political and cultural processes which create and maintain the exclusion of women (Marshall & Anderson, 1995). It was within the strand of power and politics feminism that this study was rooted, that is, the study was based upon the cultural and institutional influences of gender.

The power and politics strand recognizes that simply gaining power in the context of existing power structures needs to be rejected. MacKinnon (1982) suggests that women avoid simply seeking power in the present political structure but seek to change the political culture. The power and politics strand hold the most promise for women because it identifies the ways in which political systems act as societally constructed institutions which reproduce gendered power relations (Marshall & Anderson, 1995).

The results of this study indicate that there are cultural and institutional influences that are particular to being a woman. I considered whether this study could add to the feminist theoretical strand of power and politics feminism in any way. I have concluded that this study verifies that the cultural and institutional expectations of gender influence the ability of women to participate fully in the opportunity of becoming an urban high school principal. The influences of gender impacted upon the pre-selective

experiences as well as selection, advancement and professional experiences of the women in this study.

The women in this study were influenced by the role models available to them while they were growing up. They experienced certain gender expectations that may have conflicted with the demands of their career goals.

The marital status of the women in this study also influenced their ability to carry out the responsibilities of the position of urban high school principals. The marital situation in both cases was different from the traditional marital status of women in our culture. It is expected in our institutions and organization that women will be in a traditional marital situation.

Findings as Related to Further Research

It is now necessary to conduct further research in the area of gender in looking at the urban high school principalship. It is necessary to determine if the marital status or child bearing/rearing status (Walsh & Osipow, 1995) is a determiner of treatment of women based upon gender.

It is also necessary to conduct comparative research to determine whether marital status or childbearing influences affect men as well as women in their opportunities to obtain and retain urban high school principalships. The societal norms have changed regarding care of children

due to dual career families. It is time to accept this phenomenon and research the effects of similar role stressors upon the careers of men who are seeking or who have obtained urban high school principalships.

It is also necessary to evaluate the training programs which exist for potential administrators and determine if these programs deal with the realities of women who seek the urban high school principalship. It is proposed in this study, which is grounded in the analysis of the data as presented in chapter four, that women trained in the present programs for educational administration and educational leadership are not prepared by their programs to deal with the treatment that they will be subject to because of their gender.

Further research is needed in regard to the definition of the job responsibilities of the urban high school principalship. It may be necessary to redefine the parameters and scope of the position in order to facilitate women with children being able to perform in the position and, potentially, men who encounter similar role conflicts (Marshall, 1993). Perhaps a redefinition of secondary principal's role responsibilities is in order. It is not unreasonable to ask the "powers that be" to consider this in order to make the urban high school principalship operational for women with children.

The manner in which the high school principalship is presently designed, puts sole responsibility for management, supervision, hiring,

accounting and community relations on the shoulders of the high school principal (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1987). Assistant principals are often assigned responsibility as programmers and disciplinarians. There are distinct differences in assigned duties with the principals bearing the brunt of the load.

Perhaps a team concept of management would be more conducive to attracting women into the high school principalship. The principals, in conjunction with the assistant principals, could be assigned the management, supervision, hiring, accounting, and community relations responsibilities within the high school. Discipline and programming responsibilities could be assigned to separate personnel. The principals would still have final responsibilities in all areas but the work load would be divided among the principals and the assistant principals.

Many urban high schools have four assistant principals. This was true in the both of the cases in this study. Time was a major issue for the principals in this study. Both principals had family situations which allowed them time to carry out the principalship as it is defined in today's high schools.

In order to attract women to the high school principalship, we need to make the position one in which it is possible to carry out job responsibilities while maintaining personal, social, and family responsibilities. Particularly,

family responsibilities to children. An administrative team concept in the high school principalship may be a possible solution. Further research is warranted.

Concluding Remarks

It has been made clear by the data collected for this study that women are intricately affected by the implications of their gender. They are affected from their childhood on as far as the careers for which they see themselves as able to undertake, and to the daily interactions on the job once they have secured the urban high school principalship.

It also appears that the marital status of women urban high school principals, if they have children, affect their ability to perform their job as defined by the institutions in present day culture. Similar effects may be presented for men in present day culture which warrants further studies.

The marital status of women is significant as its relates to child bearing (Walsh & Osipow, 1994). The educational society must look at the present day structure of the position of urban high school principal and redefine the position according to the needs of women of the 1990s. It is no longer acceptable to define the position in terms of men who were socialized during preceding decades. It is time to redefine the position in order to attract present day women who demand that they be able to contribute as a

secondary principals in the urban situation as well as a women who demand the opportunity to experience their role as mother.

Research has shown that women posses many qualities that make them viable candidates for the secondary school principalship. Among these qualities is an interest in being instructional leaders (Shakeshaft, 1989) and also a moral system based in caring for others (Gilligan, 1982).

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

Project Title:

On Being a Woman Urban High School Principal

I am Kaetlyn Lad, a doctoral student at the University of Grismo - Milwaukee. I am conducting a study of women in administrative leadership. I would appreciate your participation in this study, as it may assist other women in administrative leadership.

The study will consist of interviews, observation, conversations, discussions, and journaling. Research activities will be scheduled at times and places which you will determine. A maximum of six interview hours will be scheduled so that you may anticipate the approximate amount of personal time involved. This may be extended with your approval. There

will be two informants in this study and the study will be completed by July of 1996. Data collection will be completed by May, 1996.

The identity of the subjects will be protected. Only my Major Professor, Gail Schneider, will be aware of the identity of the informants in this study and specific information will not be linked to particular subjects by identifiers.

Your participation in the data collection phase of this study in completely voluntary. You are free to refuse to answer any question at any time. The information gathered will be kept strictly confidential. Excerpts of interviews may be made part of the final research report, but under no circumstances will your name or identifying characteristics be included in this report. You will be able to review transcripts of the interviews and make comments which will be considered part of the data collected for the study.

A copy of the final report which may include excerpts from the data collection may be given to the person who signed the affiliation letter for your district if a copy is requested by that person. This could be a potential risk to employment and reputation. Please be aware that your supervisor knows about the study and this could potentially place you at risk.

If you agree to participate in this study it is understood that if the researcher attends your meetings, you will disclose who the researcher is at those meetings.

Once the study is completed, I will be glad to give the results to you. In the meanwhile, if you have any question, please ask me or contact:

Kaetlyn Lad

Enderis Hall Room 517

2400 East Hartford Ave.

UW - Milwaukee 53211

Phone: (414) 229 5704 (work)

(414) 962-7072 (home)

If you have complaints about your treatment as a participant in this study, please call or write:

Dr. Berri Forman, IRB

Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

Environmental Health, Safety and Risk Management

University of Grismo -Milwaukee

P.O. Box 413

Milwaukee, WI 53201

(414) 229-6016

Although Dr. Forman will ask your name, all complaints are kept in confidence.

I have received an explanation of the study and agree to participate. I understand that my participation in this study is strictly voluntary. I agree that this report will be used for a dissertation and possible future publication.

Name Date

This research project has been approved by the University of Grismo-Milwaukee Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects for a one year period.

Appendix B

Interview Questions to Guide the Interviews

Explanation of the research and signing of the Informed Consent Protocol.

1. Why did you agree to participate in this study?
2. Personal background? Educational background? Professional background?
3. What were some of the things that influenced your choice to enter the field of education?
4. Would you choose to become an educator if you had it to do over again? Why?
5. What were the things that influenced your choice to become an administrator?
6. What encouragement did you experience during your teaching career in becoming an administrator?
7. What discouragement did you experience to during your teaching career in becoming an administrator?

8. Tell me about your first interview for an administrative position?
9. Tell me about your first administrators meeting? Your first board meeting?
10. Tell me about how you get on with your fellow administrators?
11. Tell me about your first staff meeting?
12. How do you feel you get along with the staff?
13. Do you think that professionally you have experienced things differently because you are a woman? In what way(s)?
14. Would you choose to become a high school principals of you had it to do over again? Why?
15. What things, if any, would you or do you try to change for other women seeking a high school principalship in an urban district?
16. Do you have anything else you would like to talk about regarding your role as woman urban high school principal?
17. How has mobility influenced your career decisions?
18. What has been the impact of being a woman on your professional life? Aspirations? Sense of belonging? Financially?
19. What has the impact of being an administrator been on your personal life? Self-concept? Sense of well-being? Relationships? Family?
20. What other things have influenced your experiences as a woman administrator? In what way(s)?

21. How do you feel you were able to overcome obstacles and be successful as an administrator? As a woman administrator? Coping strategies?
22. What advice would you give to women aspiring to educational administration?
23. What your advice to a woman aspiring to an urban high school principalship be any different?
24. If you had your career to do over again, what might you do differently?
25. If you had your life to live over again, what might you do differently?
26. Other comments or ideas?
27. What are your future career plans?
28. How do you feel now about participating in this study?
29. Would you participate again? Why or Why not?
30. What research might you want to see completed which might help women to choose the urban high school principalship as a career?

Appendix C

Experience Matrix

Principals	Experiences
Frances	Socialization promotes limited view of career roles for women.
Louise	Cultural implications of a need to give back to the community.
Frances	Encouraged to pursue counseling position and, later, assistant principalship.
Louise	Encouraged to pursue assistant principalship.
Frances	Passed over for administrative position for a traditional White male.
Louise	Heightened expectations, she felt, due to race and gender.
Frances	Considered time commitment prior to accepting principalship.
Louise	Moved to an urban district (which included minorities) as a principal.
Frances	Felt could not meet the demands of the job unless she was single with no children.
Louise	Felt she could not meet demands of job unless husband stayed home to care for child.
Louise	Only principal removed from position during restructuring. All other principals were male and remained in positions.

Appendix D

Time-Ordered Matrix

Experiences

Case #	Time of experience	The experience	What followed
Frances	childhood	limited career models	chose education
Louise	childhood	cultural expectations	chose education
Frances	early career	encouraged to move to assistant principal	assistant principalship
Louise	early career	heightened expectation	did more
Louise	early career	encouraged to move into administration	became assistant principal
Frances	mid career	passed over for promotion	left education
Louise	mid career	as assistant principal moved to urban principalship	removal from job
Louise	mid career	removed from principalship after 4 mo.	job hunting
Frances	mid career	great time demands	is single
Louise	mid career	great time demands	husband cares for child

Appendix E

Case-Ordered Experience Matrix

	Case 1	Case 2
Question 1	- limited career models - encourage to move to assistant principalship	- cultural expectations - encouraged to move to assistan principalship
Question 2	- passed over for promotion by traditional White male - time demands influence decision to become principal	- heightened expectations - moved to urban district to become a principal
Question 3	- conflicts with male staff regarding supervision - passed over for promotion by traditional White male	- only person removed from principalship during restructuring; only principal who was a woman
Question 4	- can only meet demands of job if stays single	- husband cares for child so can meet demands of job

VITA

Title of Dissertation--On Being A Women Urban High School Principal

Name--Kaetlyn Lad

Place and Date of Birth--Racine County, Grismo; December 9, 1950

Colleges and Universities--University of Grismo-Oshkosh, 1969-1974, BS Special Education; Cardinal Stritch, 1980-1981, MA Learning Disabilities; University of Grismo-Milwaukee, 1991-1996, Ph.D. Urban Education

Professional Positions--High School Teacher; High School Department Chair; Director, Special Service; Assistant Editor, Education Administration Quarterly

Membership in Learned or Honorary Societies--American Educational Research Association; National Association for University Women; National Association for Secondary School Principals; Council for Administrator of Special Education.

Publications None

Major Department - Administrative Leadership

Minor(s) - Psychology

Signed _____
Major Professor in Charge of Dissertation